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ABSTRACT

The relationship between the existence of integrated and de facto segregated public schools and the racial attitudes of White students toward African Americans was studied by comparing the attitudes of white college freshman from racially integrated or de facto segregated public high schools. The Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI), developed by J. Woodmansee and S. Cook (1967), was used to study the attitudes of 64 graduates of integrated schools and 64 graduates of de facto segregated schools. Students experiencing a de facto segregated public school education held less favorable attitudes toward African Americans than students who experienced an integrated public school education. While it is not possible for educators to control where people live, they can provide the opportunity for children to be educated in a racially integrated setting that promotes cultural acceptance and racial harmony. Ten appendixes contain the cover letters and questionnaires used in the study. (Contains 2 figures, 4 tables, and 93 references.) (SLD)

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The Influence of Integrated and De Facto Segregated Schools on the Racial Attitudes of White Students Toward African Americans

1998 University Council for Administration Convention

St. Louis, Missouri

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CHAPTER 1
DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The desegregation of students in public schools has, historically, been a controversial issue in the United States. Desegregation was initially mandated to provide equal educational opportunity for minority students (Brown v. Bd. of Education, 1954). This mandate has more recently evolved from a civil rights issue to an education concern for multi-cultural appreciation and the elimination of prejudicial attitudes. Nonetheless, de facto segregation, often in the form of neighborhood schools, remains a part of the landscape across this country. De facto segregation is not illegal and is related to socio-economic status and choices in residential housing patterns (DeFunis v. Adegaard, 1973). Given de facto segregation and the current state of racial and ethnic tensions in this country, is moving from integrated to racially and ethnically de facto segregated public schools a desirable approach for improving racial and ethnic relations? The question to be addressed in this study is "What is the relationship between integrated and de facto segregated public schools and the racial attitudes of white students toward African Americans?" This question is important in light of the discussion presented earlier, and in light of recent public school efforts to abolish integration policies and practices.

Background and Description of the Problem

There is a debate occurring within integrated communities all across the U.S. regarding the need to maintain or terminate existing policies and practices supporting racially integrated public school systems. Presently, a large school district in the northeastern part of the country is, for the first time in twenty years, considering

abandoning school integration policy. Two county lawmakers introduced state legislation in 1995 that, if passed, would prohibit the busing of students in order to achieve racial integration. These legislators claimed that racial integration efforts had not been effective in the past, and that "reinstating neighborhood schools was especially important to encourage more parental participation" (Reeves, 1995). Due to the renewed public interest that these lawmakers brought to the issue of integration, the school board has been persuaded to address the issue and to make a decision regarding the future of integration in its schools. Missing from the rhetoric and debate is evidence taken from research that confirms or possibly refutes the benefits of public school integration.

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between white students' racial attitudes toward African Americans and their enrollment in integrated and de facto segregated public schools. To do this, the racial attitudes of white college freshmen who attended integrated public schools will be compared with the racial attitudes of white college freshmen who attended de facto segregated public high schools. This approach will help explain how integrated and segregated public schools affect the racial attitudes of white students toward African Americans. Analyses of the data will also explain how other variables relate to white students' attitudes on race.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to analyze how integrated and de facto segregated schools influence the racial attitudes of white students toward African Americans. In particular, the racial attitudes of white college freshmen recently enrolled in integrated public schools were compared with the racial attitudes of white college freshmen recently enrolled in de facto segregated public schools. The effects that other variables

have on the racial attitudes of these students were also measured. Such variables as an individual's gender, socio-economic class, education (SES), and religious background as identified in the literature as potential variables affecting attitudes on race were considered in this study.

Statement of Hypotheses

The object of this study is to examine certain relationships as stated in the questions given below followed by hypotheses that were tested during the study.

Research Question One: What is the relationship between integrated and de facto segregated public schools and the racial attitudes toward African Americans of white students who have attended these two types of public schools?

Hypothesis 1.1 The racial attitudes toward African Americans of white students who attended an integrated public school are more favorable than the racial attitudes of white students who attended a racially de facto segregated public school.

Research Question Two: Do type of schooling (i.e. integrated and de facto segregated), gender, enrollment in multi-cultural education courses, religious involvement, family income, education level of mother, and education level of father predict racial attitudes of white students toward African Americans?

Hypothesis 2.1 Type of school, gender, enrollment in multi-cultural education courses, religious involvement, family income, education level of mother, and education level of father are significant predictors of racial attitude of white students toward African Americans with type of school explaining more variance in racial attitude toward African Americans than the other predictor variables.

Significance of the Study

This study is important for at least four reasons. First, analyzing if and to what extent integrated and de facto segregated schools affect the racial attitudes of students is important for controlling the rhetoric and for informing public policy and education debate. Lacking current findings on the influence of integrated and de facto segregated public schools on students' attitudes, in other words, makes it exceedingly difficult to make informed decisions for ameliorating social and racial tensions.

Second, Chief Justice Earl Warren ruled in 1954, that separate but equal public schools were unconstitutional. In his ruling, Warren explained that:

> Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of the law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the education and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system (Brown v. Board of Education, 1954).

Thus, examining how integrated and de facto segregated schools influence the racial attitudes of students is important for effective program development, and for anticipating the possible dangers that segregation "with the sanction of the law" bring to the motivation of a child attempting to learn.

Third, while many previous studies have measured the effects of public school integration on student attitudes, these studies have become outdated. Additionally, many

of these studies examine the effects of recent and often forced desegregation practices, paying inadequate attention to the long-term experiences of students in integrated schools. A high school sophomore required to attend a newly desegregated school in 1972 may have had a very different experience from a high school sophomore attending integrated schools for most of her life. To assess the influence of public school integration and de facto segregation on the racial attitudes of students, it becomes important to assess the effects of integrated schools on students for whom these schools have been a way of life.

Fourth, it is estimated that by the year 2000, one of every three citizens will be nonwhite (Hodgkinson, 1987). Studying how integrated and de facto segregated schools influence the racial attitudes of students is important for anticipating and preparing public schools to effectively meet the challenge of demographic shifts, and for preparing students and society to understand and develop equity in race relations.

Assumptions

In conducting this research and attempting to draw conclusions from the results, certain assumptions are made. Following are some of the assumptions that inevitably influence the processes and findings of this research.

For the purposes of this study, it is assumed that a sample of white college freshmen attending a large state university is representative of the range of racial attitudes towards African Americans of white college freshmen across the country.

The second assumption is that the items in the instrument are representative of the important aspects of racial prejudice that may be addressed in a survey format.

Thirdly, pencil and paper self-report surveys are limited in their ability to measure attitudes. One reason for this is that people are often unaware of the attitudes that they hold. Furthermore, there is often a reluctance to give a response that conflicts with what is socially acceptable. Although steps were taken in this study to reduce evaluation-apprehension concerns and focus subjects on providing the most honest answer to each of the items, it is acknowledged that this is unlikely to lead to a perfect assessment of racial attitudes. Therefore, it is assumed that there will be limitations in establishing the validity of the instrument because of the nature of the measurement technique. These limitations, however, should not detract from the ability to compare the self-reported racial attitudes of integrated students with the self-reported racial attitudes of de facto segregated students. And because questioning on controversial attitudes can lead to unexpected reactions, there will be no attempt to withhold the nature of the study from the participants.

Finally, it is assumed that an attitude about a racial group is, at some level, unidimensional. Despite research demonstrating that we all are susceptible to the prejudices of society (Bodenhausen, 1993; Devine, 1989), it is assumed that degrees of attitude favorability exist. And while it is probably true that even individuals with the most favorable attitudes towards a target group discriminate in certain circumstances, it is expected that the likelihood of discriminating, both within a given situation and across different situations, is tied to the favorability of the related attitude.

In closing, in her review of research undertaken between 1937 and 1973 on desegregation and racial prejudice, St. John (1975) points out that most studies begin with the assumption that children are racially prejudiced and that researchers seek to

determine whether changes in the school's racial composition will affect that level of prejudice. This study attempts to make no assumptions regarding the initial prejudicial attitudes of the participants.

Definition of Terms

African American: having ancestors from sub-Saharan Africa. (Webster's New World College Dictionary, 1996). Prior to the 1960s, these individuals were most commonly referred to as *Negroes*. Throughout this study, this term is used interchangeably with the term *Black*.

De Facto Segregation: Segregation which is inadvertent and without assistance of school authorities and not caused by any state action, but rather by social, economic, and other determinants (DeFunis v. Adegaard, 1973).

De Jure Segregation: Generally refers to segregation directly intended or mandated by law or otherwise issuing from an official racial classification or in other words to segregation which has or had the sanction of law. Used to define any situation in which the activities of school authorities have had a racially discriminatory impact contributing to the establishment or continuation of a dual system of schools (State of Washington on the Relation of Citizens Against Mandatory Busing v. Brooks, 1972).

Desegregation: The judicial mandate eliminating color of a person as a basis for disqualification to attend the school of his/her choice or to work at a place of employment of his/her choice (Black, 1990).

Discrimination: Unfair treatment or denial of normal privileges to persons because of their race, age, sex, nationality, or religion. A failure to treat all persons equally where

no reasonable distinction can be found between those favored and those not favored (Baker v. California Land Title Co., D.C. Cal., 1972).

Egalitarian: A belief in human equality especially with respect to social, political, and economic rights and privileges (Webster's New World College Dictionary, 1996).

Ethnic: Describing a member of an ethnic group, especially a member of a minority or nationality group that is part of a larger community (Webster's New World College Dictionary, 1996).

Integration: The act or process of making whole or entire. Bringing together different groups (as races) as equals (Black, 1990).

Minority: In context of the Constitution's guarantee of equal protection, "minority" does not have merely numerical denotation, but refers to an identifiable and specially disadvantaged group (Black, 1990). Throughout the study, this term will be used to refer to *African Americans*.

Neighborhood School: A school that predominantly houses students from within the boundaries of the neighborhood where it lies.

Race: An ethnic stock; a great division of mankind having in common certain distinguishing physical peculiarities constituting a comprehensive class appearing to be derived from a distinctive primitive source (Black, 1990).

Racial Attitude: Possessing a manner, disposition, feeling, position, etc., toward a person in regard to his/her racial make-up.

Racial Balance: The attempts of a public school system to balance the racial make up of students in its schools to reflect the racial make up of its community's population.

Racism: A belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce inherent superiority of a particular race (Webster's New World College Dictionary, 1996).

Segregation: The act or process of separation. The unconstitutional policy and practice of separating people on the basis of color, nationality, religion, etc., in housing and schooling (Black, 1990).

White: Members of the white or Caucasian race, as distinct from the black, red, yellow, and brown races (Takao Ozawa v. U.S., 1922).

Limitations

The following limitations were imposed on the study as a result of the procedures used.

1. Time and money limits the participants of this study to students living in a specific area/region of the United States.

2. In order to protect anonymity (by not requiring parental permission), the participants are limited to those white college freshmen 18 years of age or older. Any results may not have a broad application to younger students in this country or, more specifically, the area/region that is being represented.

3. The instrument was administered to only those students who agreed to participate.

Instrumentation

This study used of the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI) developed by Woodmansee and Cook (1967) to measure racial attitudes. The MRAI is designed to measure different aspects of attitude toward African Americans. The development of the

MRAI was a continuation of work begun by Collins and Haupt at the Research Center for Human Relations, New York University. Their "opinion inventory" and, later, scales devised by Harding and Schuman provided a pool of items from which many of the subscales were formed. In addition, the work of other investigators, such as Fishbein (1963), Hinckley (1932), Kramer (1949), and Triandis (1964) was surveyed to assure a wide sampling of items content. A final version of the instrument and extensive studies of it were the work of Woodmansee and Cook (1967).

The MRAI is composed of thirteen 10-item subscales, twelve of which are undisguised measures of different aspects of attitude toward African Americans: Integration-Segregation Policy, Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships, Black Inferiority, Ease in Interracial Contacts, Subtle Derogatory Beliefs, Local Autonomy, Private Rights, Acceptance in Superior-Status Relationships, Gradualism, Interracial Marriage, Approaches to Racial Equality, and Black Militance. The thirteenth subscale, Black Superiority, is included as a potential measure of the tendency to appear falsely egalitarian. Two versions of the MRAI, form C-8, are available. One uses the descriptor "Negroes" (see Appendix A); the instrument was validated in this version. The other updated version uses the descriptor "Black."

The MRAI instrument has been used, both in a multifactor manner, focusing on one or more specific subscales, and in its entirety, with researchers deriving a single score encompassing all the attitude subscales. For the purpose of this study, only six of the twelve subscales will be used to measure the racial attitudes of the subjects. The six subscales are: Acceptance in Superior Status Relationships, Ease in Interracial Contacts, Private Rights, Subtle Derogatory Beliefs, Negro Inferiority, Acceptance in Close

Personal Relationships. These subscales were chosen because of their high level of reliability, and their specific emphasis on attitudes toward African American "persons" rather than attitudes focusing on the political and legal aspects of integration policy or the attitudes toward interracial marriage or dating. An additional subscale, Black Superiority is used to examine response bias of subjects. When Black Superiority and Ease in Interracial Contacts subscale scores are high, the respondent may be attempting to appear egalitarian when he is actually anti-Black.

Test materials for all subscales are housed in a reusable 10-page test booklet and a separate answer sheet. The researcher elected to use a computerized answer sheet in this proposed study. The MRAI is suitable for group testing because of its simple instructions and format. The full inventory requires 20-30 minutes to complete.

The items from the various subscales are randomly distributed throughout the inventory. The item subgroups are balanced for "AGREE" and "DISAGREE" responses with one exception: the Derogatory Belief items are "negative" keyed, i.e., the "disagree" response increases the scale score. The attitude subscales are scored so that the more egalitarian the attitude, the higher the score.

Validity of the Subscales

Validity of the first ten subscales was evaluated by the known groups method in two regions: border South and West. Three hundred seventeen subjects were solicited from four types of groups to represent various levels of attitude on an egalitarian/anti-Black continuum.

Level I: militant civil rights workers

Level II: students in elective race relations classes

Level III: political conservatives

Level IV: members of social clubs that have gone on record as being opposed to the inclusion of Blacks in their local groups.

Subscale scores for each criterion level are reported below (see Table 1). The correlation ratio, eta, is a convenient index of the relative effectiveness of the subscales as measures of the attitude criterion. Etas were calculated for the analyses of variance results of each subscale score against attitudinal group membership (Woodmansee and Cook, 1967).

Reliability

Reliability coefficients are reported below. Using the responses of the criterion group subjects noted in the Validity section, the internal consistency (Cronbach alpha) of each subgroup was computed. Stability coefficients (Pearson r) are from a test-retest (3 weeks) study using 41 Introductory Psychology students at Wake Forest College.

The Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory has been widely used to measure racial attitudes of adolescents as well as adults. It was found effective in studies concerning the effects of black literature on the attitudes of White students (Martin, 1980), the effects of human relations training on attitudes toward Blacks (Sims, 1981), the effects of knowledge acquisition about Blacks on the racial attitudes of White students (Sanchez, 1991), and the effects of an African American history course on the racial attitudes of high school students (Keats, 1989). Other studies have used the MRAI to measure interracial marriage attitudes of White American and international students (Lovstuen, 1994), attitudes toward ethnic minority groups, homosexuals, and the elderly by Hispanic and EuroAmerican subjects (Sahwell, 1990), student-teacher racial attitudes toward

Table 1

Reliability of Subscales, Eta, and Mean Subscale Scores of Criterion Group Subjects, by Region

Subscale	Internal Consistency	Stability	Criterion Level	Western[a] X	Western[a] s.d.	Border South[b] X	Border South[b] s.d.
Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships	.93	.95	I	9.73	0.46	9.49	1.09
			II	8.37	2.85	5.00	3.82
			III	6.49	3.71	3.26	2.88
			IV	6.15	2.37	2.39	2.76
				Eta = .41		Eta = .72	
Negro Inferiority	.79	.51	I	9.13	1.01	8.97	1.15
			II	8.47	1.48	7.56	2.12
			III	6.83	2.67	5.66	2.17
			IV	6.76	2.12	5.02	2.82
				Eta = .45		Eta = .59	
Ease in Interracial Contacts	.80	.83	I	7.18	1.92	4.91	2.64
			II	2.54	2.20	1.76	2.09
			III	1.77	1.50	1.29	1.31
			IV	1.43	1.15	1.23	1.67
				Eta = .71		Eta = .62	
Subtle Derogatory Beliefs	.78	.81	I	7.18	1.37	7.03	1.84
			II	5.41	2.30	4.28	2.09
			III	3.00	2.00	1.66	1.66
			IV	2.89	1.83	2.18	1.54
				Eta = .61		Eta = .78	
Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships	.90	.82	I	9.96	0.21	9.80	0.53
			II	9.15	1.66	7.96	2.49
			III	7.60	3.26	5.63	3.20
			IV	7.63	2.52	5.09	3.41
				Eta = .38		Eta = .58	

a_N for each criterion level: I = 22, II = 68, III = 35, IV = 46.
b_N for each criterion level: I = 35, II = 25, III = 38, IV = 44.

Source: Test Manual for the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI), Form C-8.

Program of Research on Social Attitudes, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO.

Blacks (Peters, 1975), and racial attitudes of college students (Bracy, 1980).

Organization of the Study

This dissertation will be composed of the following five chapters:

Chapter 1, Description of the Study, includes an introduction with background and description of white students' racial attitudes; purpose of the study; statement of hypotheses; significance of the study; assumptions; definitions of terms; limitations; and examination of instrumentation.

Chapter 2, Review of the Related Literature, includes an examination and summary of the scholarly literature related to attitude and attitude measurement; the study of racial attitudes; and school desegregation and its effects on students. This chapter contains sections on theories and research on attitude and attitude change, measurement of attitudes, the study of racial attitudes, and literature describing school desegregation and its effects on students. This final section speaks, specifically, to the areas of racial status, classroom demographics, racial preference, interracial contact, and racial attitude. This chapter also introduces these and other variables that the literature suggests are related to students' attitudes on race.

Chapter 3, Design and Methodology, includes a restatement of the problem; research design; a description of the participants; instrumentation used; data collection procedures; data analysis; and a chapter summary.

Chapter 4, Presentation of the Findings, includes a description and analysis of the data collected from the survey respondents. This chapter consists of an introduction; the presentation of data by research question; and a chapter summary.

Chapter 5, Summary Statements, Implications, and Recommendations, includes a summary of the results; the presentation of data by research question; and recommendations for future research on the issue of the effects of integrated and de facto segregated schools on the racial attitudes of students. This chapter is followed by a bibliography and appendices.

CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

This study was designed to examine the relationship between schooling and the attitudes of White students toward African Americans. In particular, the attitudes of white students experiencing integrated schooling will be compared with the attitudes of students educated in de facto segregated schools toward African Americans. The following review of the literature is categorized into four areas: (1) theories and research on attitude and attitude change, (2) measurement of attitudes, (3) the study of racial attitudes, and (4) literature describing school desegregation and its effects on students.

Theories and Research on Attitude and Attitude Change

attitude: the extent of liking or disliking something (Mueller, 1986)

Keisler, Collins and Miller (1969) state that the concept of attitude has played a central role in the development of American social psychology. Researchers and practitioners in education and social science have spent enormous amounts of time and energy in the study of attitude formation and change and on the effects of attitudes on behavior. Attitudes constitute an immensely important component on the human psyche and they strongly influence all of our decisions: the friends we pick, the jobs we take, the movies we see, the foods we eat, the spouses we marry, the clothes we buy, and the houses we live in. We choose the things we choose, to a large extent, because we *like* them.

Historical Trends in Attitude Research

During the 1920s when some social psychologists were studying attitudes, doubts were expressed by others and a decline in attitude research resulted. One reason for these

doubts related to external factors and the focus (and reformation of the problems) on group dynamics. Group dynamics research was considered radical and in keeping with the spirit of the time. In contrast, research on attitude work had passed its peak by the late 1930s.

Even with little or no support from the general research community, a number of social psychologists continued their work. L. L. Thurstone (1928), one of the first to reduce attitude measurement to a scientific base, developed a method of scaling attitudes that has become one of the "classics" of attitude measurement. Thurstone believed that attitude was a very complex construct that possessed properties of directionality and extremity. He stated that individuals possess a wide variety of beliefs pertinent to any attitude object. These beliefs may be logically and effectively incompatible with one another and there are certain conditions where a change in one's beliefs would not influence his (sic) attitude. This would happen when the beliefs were symmetrically balanced on either side of the mean affective value of distribution.

The Social Distance Scale of Emory Bogardus (1925) is pertinent here. It measures attitude toward ethnic and racial groups and is one of the earliest formalized attitude scales to have been published. It has been used, over the years, to study societal changes in attitude toward various ethnic and racial groups.

Likert (1932) published his method of the summated rating technique. He found success by attempting to measure attitudes toward an object by locating one's position on an affective continuum ranging from "very positive" to "very negative." In his technique, the tallying of respondents' affirmation of positive and negative belief statements about the attitudinal object reveals the results.

Remmers (1934) constructed a master scale so that attitudes toward any one of a large group or class of attitude objects could be validly measured on a single scale. Lewin's (1935) theory revolves around the concepts of valance and life space. Valence change takes place when the attitude object moves to occupy a new location in the life space of the individual. Affective and cognitive elements of the individual come into play to determine subsequent behavior toward the attitude object.

Newcomb, Turner, and Converse (1965), on the other hand, emphasized a social, rather than a psychological, determinant of attitude change. Attitudes are formed and changed as the individual is exposed to other attitudes held by other individuals with whom he associates. New information one gains pertaining to the attitude object has less of an influence on his attitude formation or change than the combined effect his parents, peers, and relatives have upon him.

Gordon Allport (1935) influenced the study of attitudes for over two decades with his writing and theorized that attitude determined behavior. He said that attitudes determine for each individual what he says, what he hears, what he thinks, and what he does (1954). Allport made a case for a person's experiences playing a large part in the formation of attitudes.

Other theories and methods have been developed and used for measuring attitudes. However, the Thurstone and Likert methods have been used most extensively in attitude research .

Between 1961 and 1965, the number of studies on attitudes not only increased, but increased at a higher rate than had the number of studies in social psychology as a

whole (Mueller, 1986). A wide gap between attitude and its nearest rival, group processes, was evident.

The shift back to attitude study was due in part to the work of Carl Hovland (1959). He interested a number of psychologists in attitude work after World War II. Another psychologist, Leon Festinger (1957), became interested in attitude change during this time also. It has been only since the late 1960s that attitude research returned to its current flourishing state.

Definitions of Attitude

The problems involved in the basic study of attitudes are not limited to the present status of current attitudinal theory. The problem of defining what is meant by the term "attitude" is just as basic and apparently just as problematic. To be sure, there are almost as many definitions of attitude as there are theorists in the attitude arena.

Many definitions of attitude, however, include a reference to behavior or to a tendency to respond or to behave in a certain manner. Emory Bogardus (1931) states that an attitude is a tendency to act toward or against some environmental factor. And, in 1935, Gordon Allport indicated that an attitude is a mental or neural state of readiness. Other attitude theorists who define attitude with a reference to behavior include Dood (1947), Edwards (1957), Osgood (1952), and Rosenberg (1956).

While it seems impractical to contradict the beliefs of these scholars, many other theorists do just that. The alternate school of thought regarding the definition of attitude sees behavior and attitude as separate psychological phenomena. While they may, under certain conditions, be highly related, they are not always so and should not be expected to be. Rokeach (1973) indicates that attitude is a system of beliefs based on a principle of

congruity. Other theorists clearly place attitude in the cognitive domain by stating that attitude is a particular feeling about something partly rational and partly emotional and is acquired, not inherent, in an individual. These theorists include Fishbein (1963), Katz (1960), and Mueller (1986). They suggest that attitude is internal. And while it defines an individual's feelings or beliefs, it does not necessarily prompt a person to behave in a particular fashion. Whether attitude does or does not predict behavior is, indeed, an important scientific question. However, it will not be addressed in this study.

It is clear, then, in the review of the research surrounding the definition of attitude, that theorists seem to place their definitions within two general categories: affective and cognitive. Attitude definitions making up the affective domain encompass an individual's actual behavior in relation to a particular value.

Attitude definitions making up the cognitive domain focus on an individual's beliefs, feelings, or prescriptions. These prescriptions (behavioral preferences or behavioral intentions), until acted upon, remain in this domain. Due to external factors, these behaviors often never materialize.

This study adopts Thurstone's (1928) cognitive definition of attitude. He states that attitude is 1) affect for or against, 2) evaluation of, 3) like or dislike of, or 4) positiveness or negativeness toward a psychological object. There are three reasons for choosing this opinion over others. First, while some definitions of attitude are much more elaborate, virtually all contain the essence of Thurstone's definition. Second, Thurstone's definition clearly removes the element of behavior as an indicator of the attitude of an individual. Third, this definition describes what the selected instrument,

the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory, will be attempting to measure in this particular study.

Whatever definition one chooses to explain the phenomenon of attitude, there is a significant link between attitude theory and attitude measurement. Kiesler, Collins, and Miller (1969) propose that the definition of attitudes should agree with the operational definitions used to measure attitudes.

The Measurement of Attitudes

The process of measuring attitudes is determined partly by the attitude in question and partly by other incidental variables. Thurstone (1928) addressed this issue early on in his study of attitude measurement. He was concerned about the discrepancies of using opinion or overt behavior as an index of attitude. "The man may be a liar . . . Neither his opinions nor his overt acts constitute in any sense an infallible guide to the subjective inclinations and preferences that constitute his attitude" (p. 539).

The most serious weakness in attitude measurement is in the realm of validity. This is a universal problem in affective measurement. It is less serious in the case of attitude, though, than with many other affective constructs. For most attitudinal objects, people are perfectly willing to express their opinions frankly and honestly. Mueller (1986) believes, however, that the problem occurs when an attitude toward an object does not consistently coincide with each and every behavioral instance toward that object. Problems concerning attitude measurement continue to exist in spite of researchers taking time to build deliberate safeguards into their techniques.

General Categories of Attitude Measurement

Several authors have attempted to categorize the various methods of attitude measurement. The five categories listed by Kiesler et al. (1969): 1) self-report measures; 2) observation of overt behavior; 3) reaction to partially structured stimuli; 4) performance on objective tasks; and 5) physiological reactions are described below.

Self-report measures, by far, consume the majority of literature written about attitude measurement. This category includes all the various methods devised to measure an attitude via a paper and pencil exercise of some nature.

The observation of overt behavior as a technique in measuring attitudes is in sharp contrast to the highly sophisticated methodological work done on the self-report techniques in that behavioral measures remain relatively crude. According to Edwards (1957), the direct observation of behavior as a measurement technique is limited for use with very small samples. He notes that behavior is often designed to conceal feelings rather than to express them. He believes that the observed behavior may not reveal the subject's true attitude.

The performance of subjects on "objective" tasks is another measurement technique. This technique makes use of a person's performance on a specific task, assuming that his performance will be influenced by his attitudes.

Physiological reactions to stimuli have been used as indicators of attitudes. Vascular restrictions of the finger and pupil dilation have been reported to be studied by Kiesler, et.al. (1969).

Direct questioning is becoming more of a commonality in the field of attitude measurement. The method of direct questioning is used in various public opinion polls.

Edwards (1957) and Remmers (1954) consider this the crudest and weakest of all measurements. Edwards states that as long as there exists any degree of pressure to conform, a person's attitude cannot be measured by means of direct questioning.

Principles of Attitude Measurement

> "Attitude scales are relatively crude measuring instruments and we must not expect too much from them. Their chief function is to divide people roughly into a number of broad groups with regard to a particular attitude. Such scales cannot, by themselves, by expected to provide us with subtle insights in an individual case. They are techniques for placing people on a continuum in relation to one another, in relative and not in absolute terms" (p. 121).

Once the limitations are understood, the researcher can proceed to choose or construct the attitude scale of his choice.

The Study of Racial Attitudes

Webster's dictionary defines prejudice as an irrational attitude of hostility directed against an individual, a group, a race, or their supposed characteristics (1996). The type of prejudice that has received the most attention by researchers is the attitude of Whites toward non-Whites. This focus is most likely the result of the implied link between prejudice and discrimination. Of the many disadvantaged minority groups in the United States (e.g., Native Americans, illegal immigrants, homosexuals, and teenagers), Black Americans have received the most attention. This interest may stem from the historical legacy of slavery and the relatively large size and dispersion of the Black population. The nature of prejudice toward Blacks is characterized by Whites' views of the unique experience and demographics characteristics of Blacks in this country.

Knowledge on racial prejudice was expanded in the 1970s when researchers argued that more covert forms of racial prejudice were emerging in the United States. They claimed this was because of rapidly shifting social norms. The two most important theories of covert racial prejudice that emerged from this decade were aversive racism (Gaertner, 1973; Kovel, 1970) and symbolic/modern racism (McConahay & Hough, 1976; Sears & Kinder, 1971).

The theory of aversive racism proposes that there are white Americans who harbor negative feelings towards African Americans, but who also are devoted to an egalitarian value system that condemns prejudice. These negative thoughts and feelings are believed to be caused by exposure to American socialization forces. These forces have been influenced by the history of racial antagonism and separatism in this country, as well as human cognitive restrictions that lead to categorical perception biases. According to the theory, the dissonance generated by the inconsistency of negative thoughts concerning African Americans and an egalitarian value system is resolved by repressing the negative attitude structure from conscious awareness. When racial norms are salient and/or competing motives are absent, the behavior of aversive racists will be favorable to Blacks. However, when the behavior might not openly conflict with egalitarian norms, the aversive racist will often discriminate. These individuals consider themselves to be non-racist and only display their prejudice in an indirect manner. Thus, measurement of aversive racism is complex. Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) note, "Given the high salience of race and racially symbolic issues on questionnaires designed to measure racial prejudice, as well as aversive racists' vigilance and sensitivity to these issues, effective questionnaire measures of aversive racism . . . would be difficult if not

impossible to develop" (p.67). Thus, aversive racism proposes that a negative underlying attitude structure may exist for people who otherwise seem to be non-prejudiced (even to themselves).

The theory of symbolic racism (named "modern racism" by McConahay & Hough, 1976) acknowledges similar influence of socialization in leading to negative affective reactions by Whites towards Blacks. However it differs from aversive racism in pertaining to individuals who most strongly identify with the Protestant work ethic and the value of individualism (Ward, 1985). Thus, symbolic racists tend to be conservative in their beliefs and oppose policies that attempt to help Blacks and members of other minority groups. These issues take on symbolic value for individuals and they oppose them without conscious awareness that race has influenced their judgments. Jacobson (1985) conducted a study regarding the resistance Whites have to affirmative action. In his attempts to decipher whether resistance was self-interest on the part of the subjects, or actually racism, he came face to face with what has been labeled symbolic racism. These individuals do not clearly advocate overt racial prejudice, but they hold attitudes that often lead to discrimination. Donald Kinder and David Sears concluded in 1981 that prejudice has not disappeared but instead is taking the form of "abstract, moralistic resentment of Blacks" (p. 416).

While these, as well as newer theories, of racial prejudice have been welcomed by the social psychology community, the extent to which covert forms of prejudice are unique theoretical constructs versus simply being "subtler versions" of the more overt forms of prejudice is unclear. Many researchers (e.g., Bobo, 1983; Sinderman & Tetlock, 1986) believe that the theories are inadequate. They feel that these supposed

forms of covert racism are so similar to "old-fashioned" racism that they are not unique. Duckitt (1991) concludes: "The evidence seems to suggest that symbolic racism is not a qualitatively different kind of racism. It seems probable that it is merely a more contemporary and socially acceptable expression of the same basic antiblack attitude that was expressed in traditional racism" (p. 22).

Allport's (1954) "contact theory" proposes that "prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom, or local atmosphere), and if it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups" (p. 267).

It is interesting that the word "prejudice" seems to be more generally used than the word "racism." Perhaps "prejudice" sounds less harsh and is easier to say than the more inflammatory term "racism." It is significant to note that Gordon Allport did not even mention the term "racism" in a book considered to be the basic reference in the field. For the purpose of this study, these two terms are not meant to be interchangeable. It is with clear purpose that the term "racial attitude" was chosen over "prejudicial attitude." With the word "prejudice" comes an intrinsic degree of negativity. This study is attempting to measure racial attitudes, whether positive or negative.

Literature Relating to Desegregation and its Effects on its Students

In looking at past research that has been conducted in the area of desegregation and its effects on students, a large portion of studies have focused, specifically, on student achievement (Anderson, 1966; Burton and Jones, 1982; Crain, 1971; Fortenberry, 1959; Samuels, 1958; Simpson & Yinger, 1985). These studies suggest that the test scores of minority students rise after desegregation. This, however, is not the real test of the value of desegregation. The real test is 1) whether desegregation helps in providing minorities with an equal opportunity for a quality education and 2) whether the desegregation process promotes understanding and acceptance of different racial groups. Schools do more than teach academic skills, they also socialize America's youth for membership in an integrated adult society. Desegregation puts Whites and Blacks together so that they can learn to coexist with one another, not, as some might believe, so that they can learn to read.

Other studies focusing, not on student achievement or aspiration, but specifically on the effects of desegregation on the racial or prejudicial attitudes of its students have encouraged leaders in the field of educational policy-making to measure the value of the choices they have made for many of the children living in this country. This research falls into five main areas of consideration: 1) racial status, 2) classroom demographics, 3) racial preference, 4) interracial contact, and 5) racial attitude.

Racial Status

Barkley (1985) designed a study that measured the levels of racial esteem at which one ethnic population holds another. The study (field work completed in 1964) focused on the area of Robeson County, North Carolina, whose population was, roughly,

41 percent White, 29.5 percent Native American, and 29.5 percent Black. At the time this study was conducted, the county maintained separate school systems for the three races. In addition, there was strong sentiment for the continued operation of these systems. The general situation was one of continuation of a school system that had been in operation for years. The seniors in seventeen of twenty-three high schools in the county participated in the study, and the number included all the seniors who were present on the day the measurements were made. The "Grice Scale for Measuring Attitude Toward any Defined Group" was used to measure the level of esteem with which the high school seniors held their own people and the people of the other two races.

The results show that seniors belonging to each race tended toward an order in which the people of the three races were held in esteem. Each group started its order of favor with the people of its own race at the highest level. The order of the placement of the other two races varied somewhat, but the white students were consistent in placing the white people first, the Native American people second, and the black people third. There was also a tendency for the Native American seniors and the black seniors to place the white people third in their order of favor. The general trend, though, was for the various racial groups of Robeson County to hold people of other races at a favorable level of esteem. This study falls short of identifying the actual racial attitudes of these students by requiring them to rank each ethnic population, not give their opinions of them.

St. John and Lewis (1975) examined alternative sources of peer status in biracial sixth grade classrooms in order to answer two questions: Why are some children popular

with classmates of another race and others not? Why are some classrooms racially cohesive and others not? The subjects included 956 children (497 white, 411 black, and 48 other races) from thirty-six Boston sixth grade classrooms, two from each of eighteen schools chosen randomly. In the course of a week's observation, in each of the thirty-six classrooms, a questionnaire and sociometric test was administered to pupils, and data on their previous school history and achievement were copied from school records. Observation of students and interviews of parents, teachers, and principals were also included in the study.

Results relating specifically to race indicate that interracial popularity is affected by the same variables that affect peer status. These variables include gender, years in school, achievement, and SES relative to classmates. Other variables found to affect peer status were particular to interracial situations: racial ratios, desegregation history, and busing. St. John and Lewis (1975) found that, with measures of interracial situation controlled, popularity across any racial boundaries is significantly related to achievement (relative to classmates).

Classroom Demographics

Bowman Damico and Sparks (1986) attempted to determine whether the organizational structure of a school affects the frequency with which students talk to other-race classmates. The subjects consisted of seventh graders from two schools serving grades six, seven, and eight. The first school, a middle school, featured interdisciplinary, and multi-grade team organization. In practice, these program components increased the heterogeneity of classroom student populations in terms of ability and race, reduced the focus on homogeneous grade-level expectations, and

increased the time students and teachers spent together. Classes were not ability grouped and provided students with opportunities to come into contact with a large number of other students across ability and racial lines.

The second school, a junior high, was organized along more traditional lines. Students were segregated by grade, and their classes in reading, language arts, and math were tracked by ability level. The tracking system created classrooms that were composed of predominately same-race students, with teacher-lecture and student-recitation being the primary mode of instruction. The structure of this school limited opportunities for students to interact with one another.

Students in the study were provided with an alphabetical listing of all students in their grade (junior high) or on their team (middle school). They were asked to first circle their own name and then place a check mark in the appropriate column indicating how frequently they talked to every other student on the list. All data was collected during a one-week period. Results show significant differences between the two schools in race communications. Black students at the junior high were found to receive significantly less verbal contact from whites than that received by blacks at the middle school. Thus, race did not limit the amount of verbal contact between white and black students at the middle school.

Rosenfield, Sheehan, Marcus, and Stephan (1981) investigated the effect of the classroom structure and the classroom climate of desegregated schools on the prejudices of white intermediate school students in a large, southwestern school district. While this study, as with the previous study, refers to this effect as "classroom structure", it is better identified as "classroom demographics," as the research focuses on the characteristics of

the students in the classroom, not, as some might suspect, the actual classroom, itself. The participants were fourth grade students from thirty-four different intermediate schools. Attitudes of the students were measured through answers to questions in three categories: minority friendships, ethnic group, and self-esteem. The results of the study indicate that 1) the higher the percentage of minorities in a class, the more minority friends the white student had, 2) the more equal the social class and achievement levels of the whites and minorities in a class, the more minority friends the white students had, and 3) the higher the self-esteem of the whites in a class, the more positive their ethnic attitudes.

Racial Preference

A number of studies deal with racial prejudice, including Philip Friedman's (1980) efforts in examining the racial preferences and identifications of white children in a mono-racial and a multiracial setting. The subjects consisted of 120 kindergarten, first, and third grade children from elementary schools located in middle class suburbs of Washington, D.C. Sixty children were selected from the white mono-racial school (less than 5% nonwhite), and sixty from the multiracial school (55% nonwhite). Each child was interviewed individually with the aid of a set of four dolls that were identical in every respect except coloring. A questionnaire was used to elicit information about the subject's racial preferences, knowledge of racial differences, and self-identification. The majority of the children showed a marked preference for white over comparable black dolls. However, more black doll selections were made in multiracial than in mono-racial schools.

Another study by Gerard and Miller (1975) used the newly desegregated elementary and secondary schools of Riverside, California to study the effects of desegregation on academic performance, personality adjustment, and social contact. In this study, students were asked to pick the three classmates they would want for friends, three they would want as schoolwork partners, and three they would want as members of a ball team.

The researchers concluded that older black students (fourth through sixth grade) and all white students generally maintained their relative social status after desegregation. In contrast, Mexican Americans generally lost status in the classroom, as did younger blacks (kindergarten through third grade), especially young black girls. The data also showed that the likelihood of an Anglo choosing minority students as friends and schoolwork partners increased somewhat over the years after desegregation, the only exception being the choices of Mexican Americans as schoolwork partners.

Shaw (1973) distributed sociometric choice questionnaires to a sample of fourth, fifth, and sixth graders in newly desegregated elementary schools in Gainesville, Florida. Questionnaires were completed in February 1970 and again in June of 1970. In February of 1971 he retested the same students who had been fourth and fifth graders in February of 1970. The instruction in the school was by team teaching, where three to six teachers were responsible for 90-130 students in an open classroom setting (each group of students was called a "quad"). On each visit from the research team, students were asked to choose three persons in the quad with whom they most preferred to be, and three with whom they least preferred to be. Results show that, with minor exceptions, both Blacks

and Whites preferred students of the other race significantly less than would have been expected if race had not been a factor in their choice.

Interracial Contact

The aim of the Patchen, Davidson, Hofmann, and Brown (1977) study was to focus on reported interracial behaviors as outcomes. These behaviors included avoidance, friendly actions, unfriendly actions, and friendship relations. Data was gathered from all eleven public high schools in Indianapolis, Indiana during the 1970-71 school year. Subjects included sixty white and sixty black students from each class (freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior) at each of the eleven schools. Questionnaires were administered in the spring of 1971 to students in group-sessions at each school. Questions focused on interracial interaction (avoidance, friendly/unfriendly contact, friendship relation, and change in opinion of other-race people), student characteristics (satisfaction with life, educational aspirations, prior opinion of other races), opportunity for interracial contact in high school (in-class, teachers, school activities), and conditions of contact (same-race peers, other-race peers, family racial attitudes, SES, grades, and division of classes into interracial groups). Results indicate that negative behaviors are affected most by factors such as personal aggressiveness, initial racial attitudes, and racial attitudes of family and peers (which have little to do with the amount and conditions of interracial contact). Friendly interactions, on the other hand, are affected by opportunities for interracial contact within, and prior to the high school experience.

Schofield and Sagar (1977) studied the cafeteria seating patterns of seventh and eighth graders in a newly opened magnet school that was forty-eight percent black and fifty-two percent white. At the time of the study, the racial compositions of the seventh

and eighth grades at the school differed considerably. In the seventh grade there was no academic tracking system; the racial proportions in each class were roughly equivalent to those in the grade as a whole. In the eighth grade, however, an accelerated academic track was eighty percent white. Students in this track attended all classes together, with the exception of physical education classes and lunch.

The researchers observed race and gender of both face-to-face and side-by-side cafeteria seating patterns for one day a week over a seventeen-week period. In terms of race, Schofield and Sagar found that both face-to-face and side-by-side seating patterns shifted significantly toward racial randomness (that is, race became less of a factor in seating patterns) in the non-tracked seventh grade. However, in the tracked and racially imbalanced eighth grade, there was no significant shift among side-by-side seating patterns, and face-to-face seating shifted toward greater racial aggregation (that is, race became more of a factor.)

Silverman and Shaw (1973) undertook an observational study in Gainsville, Florida, in which two graduate students were posted at each of the two principal "places where large flows of students moved from their last classes off the grounds" (p. 134) at two junior high schools and at the tenth grade (morning) and eleventh and twelfth grade (afternoon) sessions of the senior high school. One observer at each point counted the number of students interacting in racially mixed groups. The observations were made for identical time intervals during the third, eighth, and thirteenth weeks of the first semester of the newly desegregated schools.

For the younger groups, Silverman and Shaw found that the number of interracial interactions increased from the beginning of the term to the middle and then decreased

somewhat from the middle to the end; the final percentages were still higher than those at the beginning of the term. Among the older students, the interracial interactions were virtually identical over the time period.

Racial Attitude

Merritt's (1983) study was conducted in an attempt to prove the hypothesis that white graduates of racially integrated schools would be more tolerant than are white graduates of racially segregated schools. The samples for the study were forty-nine white graduates of private, racially segregated schools and forty-two white graduates of public, racially integrated schools who were enrolled as first-semester college freshmen in four randomly selected sections of general psychology during the fall of 1980. The students were asked to respond to the Dogmatism Scale as an introduction to a unit on social psychology. Because of the comparative rather than experimental nature of the study, no cause-effect conclusions could be drawn. The findings do provide evidence, however, that white students who attended racially segregated schools were more intolerant than those who attended racially integrated schools.

A longitudinal study (Parsons, 1984) was designed to examine the changes in attitudes of parents and students coincident with desegregation in a new school district which housed both suburban white students and inner-city minority students. Prior to the implementation of desegregation in the spring of 1978, questionnaires were sent to a random sample of families, parents, and students. For each of the three years following the desegregation (1979, 1980, 1981), questionnaires were again sent in the spring to the families who had previously responded. A total of 298 families are included in the study. It is important to note that the student sample consisted of 81 percent white, 15 percent

black, and 4 percent of students from other races. The questions focusing on race were intended to measure attitudes about relations and interactions between blacks and whites. Questions were answered in the form of five point Likert scales ranging from 1 to 5. Results showed that students' racial attitudes were slightly less positive immediately following desegregation implementation and then remained generally unchanged for the next two years. Black students' racial attitudes were more positive than white students' racial attitudes for each year, but racial attitudes became less positive with increasing grade level during each year.

Patterson and Smits (1972) conducted a study comparing two schools in the Atlanta, Georgia area. One was a mostly-white public school with only seven black students attending and the other was a Catholic parochial school with a black population of 28 percent. Participants were given questionnaires that were designed to measure acceptance or objection of prejudicial statements about various religious, racial, and behavioral groups. Only 56 of the 101 volunteers completed the questionnaire. The results concluded that the students who attended the integrated parochial school for four years were significantly less prejudice toward other groups than the students in the nearly all-white school.

Fred Schab (1982) compared two studies done by James Coleman in 1965 and 1980 that measured students' attitudes toward integration. In 1965, high school seniors (545 white, 394 black) in twenty-two Georgia schools were asked to complete a survey revealing their opinions regarding integration; integration within these districts, while not currently in practice, was likely to occur within the very near future. In 1980, Coleman administered the same test to a new group of seniors within those same schools. Schab,

when reviewing the studies, focused on one question in order to ascertain the statistical significance of any differences in attitudes in evidence. The question was "Do You Favor Integration?" Schab's chief conclusion that emerged from the comparison of the two sets of attitudes is that white students, in the high schools surveyed in Georgia, have increased in their approval of integration to a remarkable degree (overall Whites favoring integration: 1965-6.5%, 1980-36.9%; 36.7% of white students in 1980 said that they were unsure).

Like the others, Daniel Sheehan (1980) published a study of attitude change in desegregated schools. The students consisted of recently desegregated white, black, and Mexican-American intermediate school children in the Dallas Independent School District. Eight different attitude scales: 1) school, 2) academic self-esteem, 3) locus of control, 4) student aspirations, 5) general self-esteem, 6) white prejudice, 7) black prejudice, and 8) Mexican American prejudice, were administered to fourth and fifth grade students during the 1976-77 and 1977-78 school years. Sheehan found that the prejudice of white students toward their own ethnic group and toward blacks decreased significantly. Black students also exhibited significant decreases in prejudice toward their own ethnic group as well as toward whites and Mexican Americans. Finally, Mexican-Americans also displayed significant decreases in prejudice toward their own ethnic group as well as toward whites. The only negative change that Sheehan found in his study was a decrease in the aspirations of white students.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed literature focused on two general areas: 1) attitude, attitude change, and the measurement of attitudes and 2) the study of racial attitudes and the effects of school desegregation on students.

It is important to reiterate the meaning of the word attitude as it relates to this particular study. In collecting and analyzing attitudes, this study adopts Thurstone's (1928) definition stating that attitude is 1) affect for or against, 2) evaluation of , 3) like or dislike of, or 4) positiveness or negativeness toward a psychological object. While many theorists in attitude study believe that attitudes can be measured by the behavior of an individual, this study does not take that approach.

The second part of this chapter focused on racial attitudes and research regarding desegregation. The results of many of these studies provide conflicting evidence in terms of the effects of desegregation on racial attitudes. Because many of these studies are outdated, it becomes increasingly important to conduct research in this area in an effort to better understand the attitudes of the students of the 21st century.

Additional analyses of literature on race indicate that the primary focus of research within this era has focused, primarily, on the action of the legal system in mandating public schools to provide minority children with an equal and appropriate education. Because the focus is placed on the legal aspect of desegregation programs in this country, these studies are not needed here.

The next chapter, Design and Methodology, is divided into five areas including a restatement of the problem; research design; description of the participants;

instrumentation used; data collection; and data analysis. All of this information will be followed by a summary of the information found in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3
DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the design and methods used to obtain and analyze the data. It includes information related to (1) restatement of the problem, (2) the research design, (3) a description of the participants (4) the instrumentation used, (5) data collection, and (6) data analysis.

Restatement of the Problem

This study is designed to assess racial attitudes that white students have toward African Americans. In particular, the researcher has undertaken the task of measuring the racial attitudes of two specific groups of white students, those from racially integrated schools and those from racially de facto segregated schools, toward African Americans.

In Chapter 1, the reasons given for the importance of this study included the ability to make informed decisions regarding public policy for education; the awareness of how integrated and de facto segregated schools affect attitudes for effective program development; provision of more current research in the area of de facto segregation, specifically; and how public schools might effectively meet the challenge of demographic shifts and prepare students and society to understand and develop equity in race relations.

Due to the renewed public interest brought to the issue of racial integration, it is important to have clear evidence regarding the influence that racially integrated and de facto segregated schools have on racial attitudes. This evidence will aid lawmakers and educational leaders in confirming or possibly refuting the benefits of public school integration.

Research Design

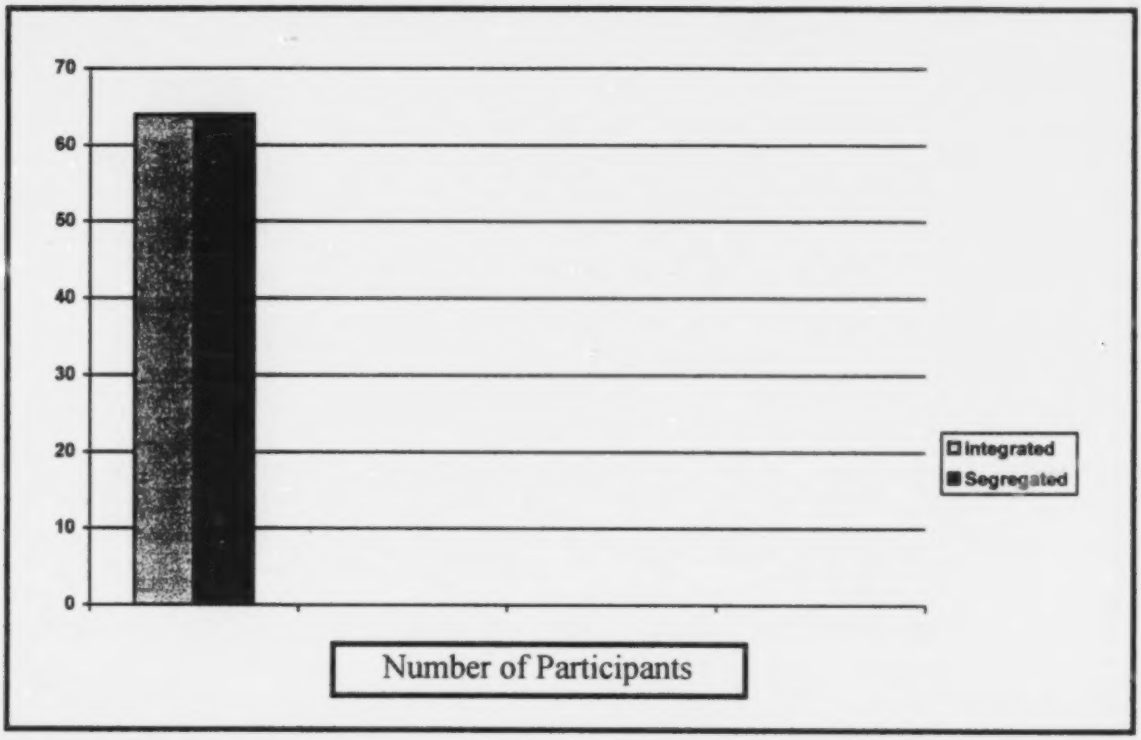
A causal-comparative design was selected for use in this study. In causal-comparative research, investigators attempt to determine the cause or consequences of differences that *already exist* between groups of individuals. Subjects are assigned to groups based on a characteristic that is beyond the control of the experimenter. This characteristic, or variable, is either one that cannot be manipulated (such as ethnicity), or one that might have been manipulated but for one reason or another has not been (integrated v. de facto segregated schooling). In the causal-comparative design, ethical considerations often prevent the researcher from deliberately manipulating a variable, thus preventing the effects of variation on the variable from being examined. This design, however, allows the researcher to study the effects of variation on what has *already been* exposed to the variable.

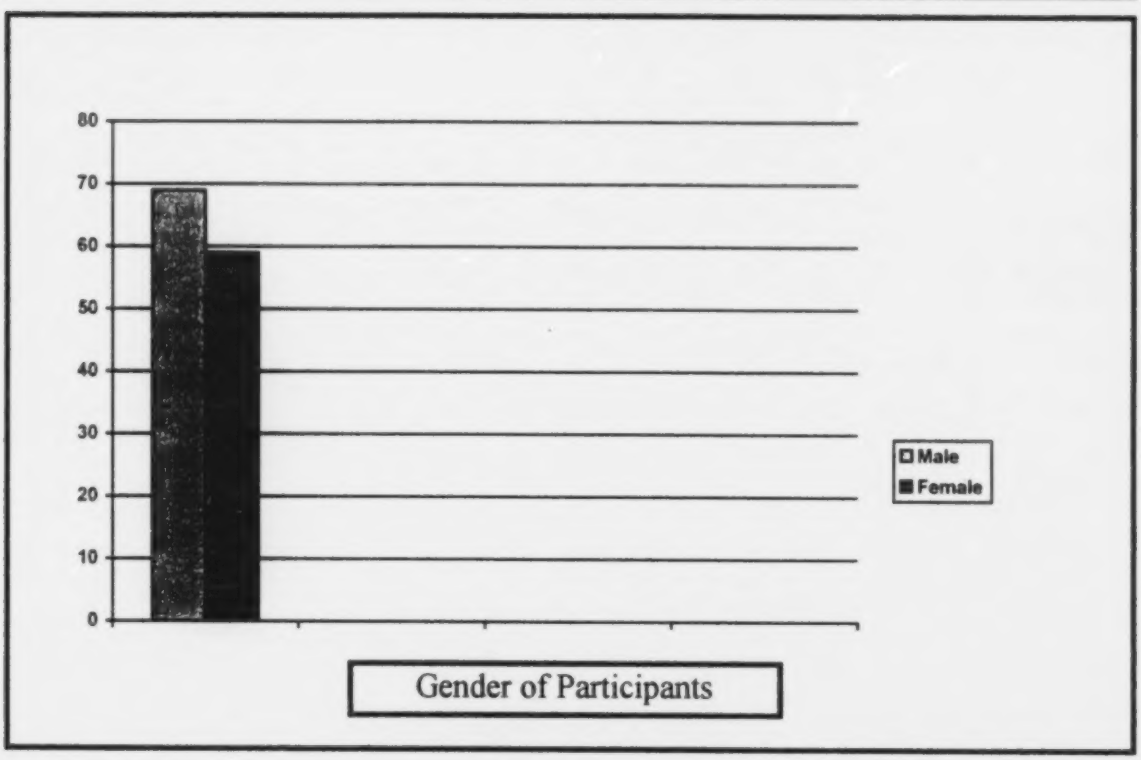
Description of Participants

The participants were 64 white graduates of public, racially integrated schools and 64 white graduates of public, racially de facto segregated schools who were enrolled as first-semester freshmen in six selected sections of freshmen English composition during the Fall 1998 semester. The gender of the students was as follows: 69 male; 59 female. The participants were limited to first-semester freshmen to prevent the liberalizing effect higher education has on intolerance (Plant & Minium, 1967). Data in Figure 1 represents actual numbers of participants in the study in regard to educational status (integrated or segregated) and gender. Fifteen non-white students completed the measure but their data was not analyzed because of the small sample size.

Figure 1

Participants' Identification in Regard to Educational Status and Gender





Instrumentation

This study used the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI) developed by Woodmansee and Cook (1967) in order to measure the racial attitudes of first-semester white college freshmen who attended both integrated and de facto segregated public schools toward African Americans. The original form of the MRAI contains a set of thirteen ten-item subscales derived from 130 attitudinal items assessing racial attitudes (see Appendix A). A modified version of this instrument (see Appendix B), consisting of seventy questions belonging to seven subscales, was used in this study. The following six subscales measured racial attitudes: Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships, Ease in Interracial Contacts, Private Rights, Black Inferiority, Subtle Derogatory Beliefs, and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships. An additional subscale, Black Superiority, was not used to measure attitude, rather it was used as a measure of the tendency to present oneself as egalitarian when an individual is actually anti-Black. Additional information regarding the MRAI, including reliability, validity, scoring, and history of the instrument, was provided in Chapter 1 and will not be reviewed in this chapter.

Attitude assessment instruments were reviewed in attempts to find the one that would best measure the racial attitudes of college freshmen. Reviewed instruments include: Currey's (1996) *RAMESES (Racial Attitude Measurement Survey for European American Subjects);* Kass' (1995) instrument used to compare attitudes of racial groups towards desegregation; Katz & Zalk's *Projective Prejudice Test*; the *Grice Scale for Measuring Attitude Toward any Defined Group* (Barkley, 1985); *The Dogmatism Scale* (Merritt, 1983); *Racial Attitude Scales* used by Sheehan (1980) for fourth and fifth

graders; Kelly, Ferson, and Holtzman's (1958) *D-Scale*; and the *Subtle Racism Scale* (Duckitt, 1991).

While these instruments have proven to be effective in measuring attitudes, there were specific reasons for choosing an alternate instrument for this particular study. For example, the RAMESES survey, a 20-page instrument, was judged by the committee as being too large and cumbersome for students to complete in an efficient manner. The Racial Attitude Scales Projective Prejudice Test were determined to be age-level inappropriate, attempting to measure the attitudes of fourth and fifth graders, and first through sixth graders, respectively. The D-Scale and the Grice Scale for Measuring Attitude Toward any Defined Group consist of outdated text. The Subtle Racism Scale consists of questions designed to measure racial prejudice in South Africa, specifically. Kass' instrument, while designed to be administered to high school students, measures attitude toward the concept of desegregation issues, rather than racial attitude toward African Americans. The Dogmatism Scale is used to measure more than just racial attitude of Whites.

The MRAI was judged best by its ability to most accurately measure the attitudes of young adults, its concise presentation, its capability of identifying covert prejudice within what are considered socially acceptable answers, and its direct questioning.

Data Collection

A four-year university was selected and an informal memo (see Appendix C) was sent to the 90 instructors of freshman English composition courses with no more than 35 students. Instructors were asked to contact the researcher if they would be willing to allow a survey to be administered in their class. Thus, the classes were selected because

of the willingness of the instructor to participate. When the number of classes (six) were deemed appropriate for this sort of study, the researcher closed the opportunity for other classes to participate and arranged specific dates and times for the administration of the survey. All data collection was completed in September of 1998 on four separate days within an 11-day period.

The Classrooms

The selected classes were held in rooms located in three separate buildings on the university's campus. One class was held in a classroom located in a physical education building, another class was held in a classroom located adjacent to the lobby of a co-ed dormitory, and four additional classes were held in classrooms located in the building housing the English department.

All classrooms were fairly small, with the capacity to hold no more than 40 students. In all but one classroom, students were seated in separate desks arranged in traditional rows in order to facilitate their responding independently. In the classroom located in the physical education building, students were seated fairly close in proximity. The furniture consisted of long tables grouped in a horseshoe shape, with a podium placed at the opening.

Authorization to Participate

At the start of the class, all students were given two documents. The first was a cover letter (see Appendix D) consisting of a description of the study, their rights to decline participation, explanation of anonymity and the consent to participate, and names and telephone numbers of persons they could contact for more information regarding the

study. The second document was an eligibility form (see Appendix E) that asked students to categorize themselves by age and race.

Immediately after distributing the two documents, all students were read a script (see Appendix F) that introduced the researcher, described the nature of the study, identified the benefits and risks of participation, and informed them of their rights as potential participants. While the researcher invited questions, she answered only those that related directly to the completion of the survey, as opposed to questions regarding the content of the instrument itself. The script also gave instructions that directed students to complete the eligibility form and return it to the researcher.

This eligibility form had two purposes. First, to identify whether or not the student was at least 18 years old; students who were minors would have needed parental permission and would not be eligible to participate. The second purpose was to identify the racial categorization of each participant; non-white students would not complete the actual MRAI, but instead be given an alternate survey whose results would not be used in this study. After concerns arose regarding the exclusion of some students from participating with their classmates, the researcher created this alternate survey for non-white participants (see Appendix G).

Survey Completion

Eligibility forms were quickly reviewed and returned to the eligible participants to submit with their completed surveys. Students not meeting the age requirement were given the options of sitting quietly until classmates were finished or being dismissed for twenty minutes.

Students who were identified eligible to participate were given a survey (appropriate to their racial status) and an answer sheet (see Appendix H) and were asked to complete the two-part questionnaire. The survey questions were housed in an 8 ½" X 11" booklet with directions (see Appendix I) on the outside cover. Participants were encouraged not to place any marks in this booklet, but to put all responses on the answer sheet. Part one of the survey for white students consisted of the MRAI found in Appendix B. Part one of the survey for non-white students consisted of the survey found in Appendix G. The results of the MRAI allowed for a comparison between the racial attitudes of the white students from racially integrated schools and the racial attitudes of white students from racially de facto segregated schools. Part two (see Appendix J), for both white and non-white students, included questions regarding social demographics of participants (e.g. gender, multi-cultural education, religious involvement, family income and parents' education). Participants were once again reminded of the request to protect anonymity by not placing their name or any identifying marks on their answer sheet or test booklet. Participants were encouraged to respond as frankly as they could and allowed as much time as needed to complete both parts of the survey.

Collection of Materials

As participants finished, they brought their surveys to the table or chair where the researcher was located. The researcher saw that each student's eligibility form and answer sheet was put inside the survey booklet. She then placed the booklet into a box. While in the classroom, the researcher made no attempts to categorize the answer sheets by race. The survey took approximately 30 minutes for each class to complete. Total

time of data collection, including distribution of materials and directions, was approximately 40 minutes.

Organization/Categorization of Data

Each participant's eligibility form was placed inside the accompanying answer sheet and then separated from the survey booklet. Answer sheets belonging to non-white participants were removed, set aside, and not used in this study.

When only answer sheets belonging to white participants remained, each paper was numbered, beginning with 101. The researcher labeled each participant "integrated" or "de facto segregated" based on the self-reported data collected in part two regarding education. In this part of the questionnaire, students were asked to identify the racial make-up of schools they had attended during three separate times in their academic careers: high school, middle school, and elementary school. In determining overall racial status, integrated status was given to students who met one or more of the following criteria:

1. All three areas (high school, middle school, and elementary school) included 20% or more African American student population.
2. All three areas (high school, middle school, and elementary school) included 25% or more total minority student population.
3. Two or more areas (high school, middle school, or elementary school) included 25% or more African American student population.
4. Two or more areas (high school, middle school, or elementary school) included 35% or more total minority student population.

5. One or more areas (high school, middle school, or elementary school) included 44% or more African American student population.

After categorization, collected data was placed in a database to assist with the process of data analysis.

Data Analysis

The data obtained in this study were analyzed by different methods appropriate for the particular hypotheses being tested. Collected data was recorded in Microsoft Excel and analyzed with the assistance of Statistical Program for the Social Sciences (SPSS) quantitative research software. Outcomes are described in further detail in Chapter 4.

Scoring

Each item on the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory has a corresponding scale value (see Table 2). Items from the various subscales were randomly distributed throughout the inventory and were recorded so that the more egalitarian the attitude, the higher the score. For example, a student having a positive racial attitude in answer to a question measuring Close Personal Relationships, would score a "1" for that particular question. A student with a less favorable attitude in answer to the same question would score a "0." Subscale scores were added to create a total score.

Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA)

Most of the research problems we study in the field of education, however, involve three or more variables. Multivariate techniques allow the researcher to measure the degree of relationship between various combinations of three or more variables. Multivariate analysis of variance was used to examine the relationship between type of

Table 2

Subscales and Item Scoring for MRAI FOR WHITE SUBJECTS

Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships		
Item	Agree	Disagree
2	1	0
13	0	1
16	0	1
20	1	0
32	1	0
38	0	1
44	1	0
52	0	1
60	0	1
61	1	0

Ease in Interracial Contacts		
Item	Agree	Disagree
1	1	0
11	0	1
17	1	0
28	0	1
29	1	0
35	0	1
51	0	1
53	1	0
64	0	1
66	1	0

Private Rights		
Item	Agree	Disagree
5	0	1
7	1	0
15	1	0
23	0	1
30	1	0
40	0	1
46	1	0
47	0	1
57	0	1
67	1	0

Black Superiority		
Item	Agree	Disagree
3	0	1
12	1	0
18	1	0
21	0	1
37	0	1
39	1	0
43	0	1
50	1	0
58	0	1
62	1	0

Black Inferiority		
Item	Agree	Disagree
4	0	1
6	1	0
19	1	0
22	0	1
31	1	0
42	0	1
45	0	1
49	1	0
65	0	1
69	0	1

Subtle Derogatory Beliefs		
Item	Agree	Disagree
8	0	1
14	0	1
24	0	1
27	0	1
36	0	1
41	0	1
48	0	1
55	0	1
68	0	1
70	0	1

Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships		
Item	Agree	Disagree
9	1	0
10	0	1
25	1	0
26	1	0
33	0	1
34	1	0
54	0	1
56	1	0
59	1	0
63	0	1

Key: 1 = favorable, egalitarian
0 = unfavorable, prejudiced

school (i.e. integrated or de facto segregated) and the six attitude measuring dependent variables (i.e. Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships, Ease in Interracial Contact, Private Rights, Black Inferiority, Subtle Derogatory Beliefs, and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships) as a group.

Multiple Regression

Multiple regression is a technique that enables researchers to examine the relationship between a criterion variable and predictor variables. Multiple regression was used here to examine the predictive ability of a number of independent variables (e.g. type of school, gender, family income) that might predict specific racial attitudes (e.g. subtle derogatory beliefs).

Summary

This chapter describes the design and methodology of the research study. It included a restatement of the problem, the design used, a description of the participants, review of the instrumentation, details regarding data collection procedures, and methods for data analysis.

Chapter 4 is labeled Presentation of the Findings. It includes a description and analysis of the data collected from the survey respondents. It consists of an introduction, the presentation of data results by research question, and a chapter summary.

CHAPTER 4
PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

The findings presented in this chapter were collected and analyzed using the procedures outlined in Chapter 3. These findings are organized according to two research questions introduced in Chapter 1. Following this presentation of data is a conclusion of the study.

Presentation of Data by Research Question

Results for Hypothesis 1.1

Research Question 1: What is the relationship between integrated and de facto segregated public schools and the racial attitudes toward African Americans of white students who have attended these two types of public schools?

Hypotheses 1.1: The racial attitudes toward African Americans of white students who attended an integrated public school is more favorable than the racial attitudes of white students who attended a de facto segregated pubic school.

The participants responded to the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI). Scores for integrated students were compared with the scores for the de facto segregated students in six areas (i.e. Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships, Black Inferiority, Ease in Interracial Contacts, Subtle Derogatory Beliefs, Private Rights, and Acceptance in Superior-Status Relationships).

Hypothesis 1.1 postulated that the racial attitudes of white students from integrated schools would be more favorable than the racial attitudes of white students from de facto segregated schools toward African Americans. Hypothesis 1.1 was tested by multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA).

In order to incorporate the six dependent variables listed earlier in the same analysis, mean scores for integrated and de facto segregated students were compared. By combining these variables, control over the Type I error rate was achieved. The MANOVA results indicated that integrated and de facto segregated educational experience groups have statistically significant differences in their mean scores for racial attitudes, with the integrated group ($n = 64$, $M = 48.66$, $SD = 4.97$) having a more favorable racial attitude than the de facto segregated group ($n = 64$, $M = 42.80$, $SD = 9.62$). Thus, the hypothesis can be accepted. The total score accounted for 24% of the variance between the groups (Pillai's Trace = 5.467, $p = .000$, $eta^2 = .24$, power = .998).

In subsequent univariate tests of the individual dependent variables (e.g. Ease in Interracial Contacts, Subtle Derogatory Beliefs), the results showed that in all areas except for Private Rights, the integrated/de facto segregated variable was statistically significant in determining racial attitudes. The means between the integrated/de facto segregated student scores differed on all dependent variables, with the integrated students scoring higher (displaying a more positive racial attitude) in all six subscales (see Table 3).

Caution is warranted in interpreting these findings because the homogeneity of variance assumption was violated. The standard deviations for all dependent variables were greater in the de facto segregated group. Some dependent variables (Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships, and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships) exhibited a clear disparity in standard deviation between the integrated and de facto segregated groups indicating differences in spread of the curves representing the data. Figure 2 shows the histograms and normal curve distributions for the means and

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for Integrated and De Facto Segregated Groups

	Integrated		De Facto Segregated	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Total Score	48.66	4.97	42.80	9.62
Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships	9.92	.27	9.20	1.66
Ease in Interracial Contacts	7.25	2.09	5.78	2.72
Private Rights	8.08	1.85	7.36	2.86
Black Inferiority	7.80	1.26	7.11	1.65
Subtle Derogatory Beliefs	6.64	2.10	5.13	2.63
Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships	8.97	.18	8.22	1.60

standard deviations for the total score by group.

Results for Hypothesis 2.1

Research Question 2.1: How do the effects of integrated and de facto segregated public schools compare with the effects of other variables in predicting students' attitudes toward African Americans?

> Hypothesis 2.1 Type of school, gender, enrollment in multi-cultural education courses, religious involvement, family income, education level of mother, and education level of father will be significant predictors of racial attitude of white students toward African Americans with type of school explaining more variance in racial attitude toward African Americans than the other predictor variables.

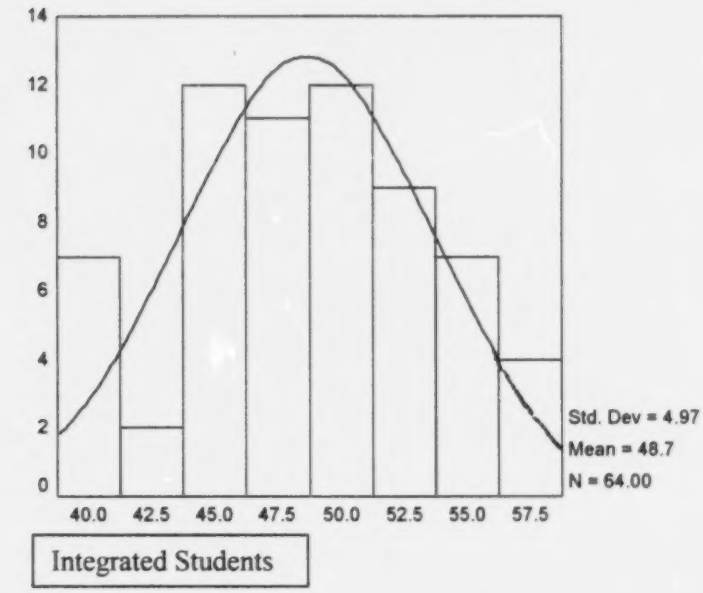
Hypothesis 2.1 postulated that the effects of an integrated or de facto segregated public school education are stronger than the effects of other variables on the racial attitudes of white students toward African Americans.

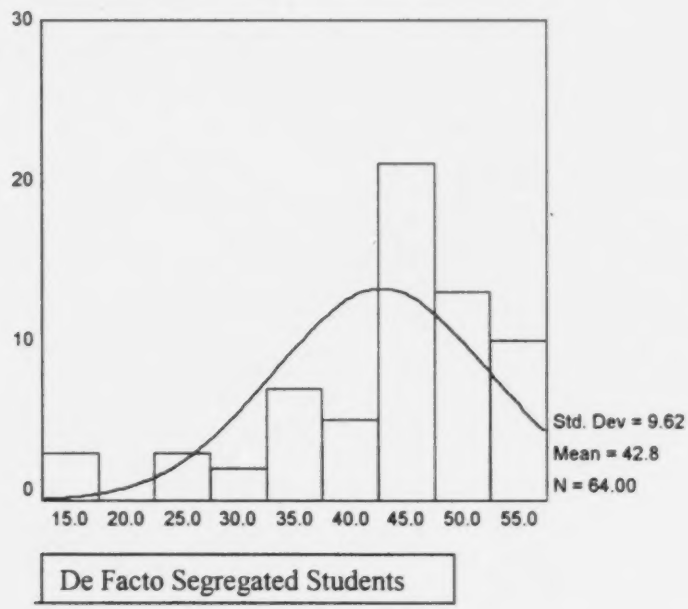
Multiple regression was used to test the predictive ability of integrated versus de facto segregated public schools and the other independent variables listed in Hypothesis 2.1 on racial attitudes. In attempting to identify possible significant predictors of racial attitude, a multiple regression test was performed for each of the six racial attitudes (i.e. Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships, Ease in Interracial Contact, Private Rights, Black Inferiority, Subtle Derogatory Beliefs, and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships) using independent variables of type of school, gender, enrollment in multicultural education courses, religious involvement, family income, the mother's education level and the mother's education level.

Hypothesis 2.1 is true for all subscales except Private Rights as the multiple

Figure 2

Differences in Mean and Standard Deviation for Integrated and De Facto Segregated Groups





regression results revealed that the effects of integrated or de facto segregated schools are stronger than the effects of the other variables in predicting the racial attitudes of white students toward African Americans (see Table 4). Type of school (i.e. integrated and de facto segregated) is the only predictor for Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships ($t = -3.07$, $p = .003$, $R^2 = .13$), Subtle Derogatory Beliefs ($t = -4.10$, $p = .00$, $R^2 = .20$), and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships ($t = -3.62$, $p = .00$, $R^2 = .18$).

Both the type of school ($t = -4.185$, $p = .00$) and enrollment in multicultural education courses ($t = 2.36$, $p = .02$) were predictors of attitude in the area if Ease in Interracial Contacts, accounting for 19 percent of the variance ($R^2 = .19$). However, it is important to note that only 54 students were at one time enrolled in at least one multicultural education course. The small sample size may allow for a different interpretation of these results.

Type of school ($t = -2.36$, $p = .02$) and mother's education ($t = -2.05$, $p = .04$) were both found to be significant predictors of racial attitude in the area of Black Inferiority. Because the results indicated both to be predictors, step-wise regression procedures were used to examine the strength of each predictor as it compared with the other. In the step-wise regression, only type of school was found to be a significant predictor of racial attitude. Thus, mother's education is a weak predictor and accounts for very little of the total variance ($R^2 = .14$).

Type of school was found to be the strongest predictor of racial attitudes in all areas except Private Rights. Here, the father's education accounted for 20 percent of the variance ($t = 2.55$, $p = .01$, $R^2 = .20$). Private Rights was the only dependent variable of

Table 4

Multiple Regression Correlation Results Listed by Dependent Variables

	Integrated/ De Facto Seg. School	Gender	Multicultural Education Courses	Religious Involvement	Family Income	Education Level of Mother	Education Level of Father
Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships	-.28**	.08	.12	.15	.11	.05	.10
Ease in Interracial Contacts	-.34**	.10	.16*	-.09	.12	-.02	.05
Private Rights	-.10	.17	-.08	.08	-.12	.07	.26*
Black Inferiority	-.24*	.01	.14	.08	.20	-.16*	-.05
Subtle Derogatory Beliefs	-.36**	.13	.08	-.12	.18	-.02	.01
Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships	-.32**	.13	.12	.18	.09	.07	-.13

** $p < .01$
* $p < .05$

the six tested by univariate analysis of variance, in which integrated versus de facto segregated educational experiences were not found to be significant.

Summary

This chapter presents the findings of the analyses of the data, given the two research hypotheses introduced in Chapter 1. Findings indicate that the racial attitudes toward African Americans of white students from racially integrated schools are more positive than those of white students from racially de facto segregated schools. These findings lead to the acceptance of Hypothesis 1.1. Other findings related to the strength of other variables in addition to the attendance in integrated or de facto segregated schools in predicting racial attitudes indicate that the effects of other variables (i.e. gender, enrollment in multicultural education courses, religious involvement, family income, and education level of mother) are not significant predictors, whereas attendance in an integrated or de facto segregated school is. One exception occurs in the prediction of racial attitudes. Father's level of education was a significant predictor in the area of Private Rights.

Chapter 5 is labeled Summary Statements, Implications, and Recommendations. It includes a summary of the results; conclusions and implication of the findings; and recommendations for future. Chapter 5 is followed by a bibliography and appendices.

CHAPTER 5
SUMMARY STATEMENTS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this research was to assess the influence of integrated versus de facto segregated public school education on the racial attitudes of white students toward African Americans. Other variables, including gender, enrollment in multicultural education courses, religious involvement, family income, education level of mother, and education level of father, were also investigated.

The population for this study was 128 first semester college freshmen enrolled in freshman English composition courses. Of these 128 white students, 69 students were male and 59 students were female. Fifty percent of the participants reported being enrolled in racially integrated schools. The other 50 percent had attended racially de facto segregated schools.

An attitudinal instrument provided data to test the different hypotheses. The instrument, Woodmansee & Cook's (1967) Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI) was designed to measure the racial attitudes of white students toward African Americans in six areas (i.e. Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships, Ease in Interracial Contacts, Private Rights, Black Inferiority, Subtle Derogatory Beliefs, and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships). Based on the data obtained from the analyses, a number of summary statements can be made regarding the influence of integrated and de facto segregated public school education on the racial attitudes of white students toward African Americans.

Summary Statements and Implications

Summary Statement 1:

There is a significant relationship between schooling and the racial attitudes of students.

Individuals concerned about the racial attitudes of society may be encouraged by the possibility that schooling may help to solve racial conflict. Simultaneously, policy makers, boards of education and educational practitioners need to be aware of the potential for schooling to contribute to racial unrest. Aside from the home, schools are considered to be the most prominent place where children of this country are groomed to be active citizens. The results of this study reveal the significant link between schooling and racial attitude. These findings should be used to help educational leaders in preparing public school students of this country for a school system that, by the year 2010, is estimated to be two-thirds non-white.

Summary Statement 2:

There is a significant relationship between integrated and de facto segregated schooling and the racial attitudes of students.

In particular, students experiencing a de facto segregated public school education held less favorable attitudes toward African Americans than students who experienced an integrated public school education. This finding is important for helping school officials to make informed decisions regarding the continued integration of students in public schools.

U.S. communities across all cultures are finding more and more promise in the

concept of neighborhood schools. Although neighborhood schools can foster renewed parental involvement and help in establishing the experimental community school, these schools are, by nature, demographically segregated by socio-economic status, education level of parents, and race. The findings of this study indicate that white students attending these de facto segregated neighborhood schools are likely to have a less favorable racial attitude when compared to students in integrated schools.

While the rebirth of the neighborhood school brings with it many challenges surrounding the discussion of race relations in this country, the age-old issue over school busing is still both a relevant and necessary debate as this country prepares for demographic shifts and the need for a less divided society. Many urban school districts, some of which spend millions of dollars on busing each year, are seeking to find ways to cut costs for education. Busing students solely for racial integration has taken a back seat to other educational programs that are deemed more meaningful to students and the communities in which they live. In light of the current state of racial and ethnic tensions in this country and the results compiled in this study, moving from integrated to racially and ethnically de facto segregated neighborhood schools is not a desirable approach for improving racial and ethnic tensions. As the United States continues to evolve into a racially and ethnically diverse nation of citizens, the integrating of public schools becomes important if racial unrest is to be resolved and the nation is to maintain its current position as an international leader.

While de facto segregation, which is commonly caused by social, economic, and housing patterns, is not illegal, these patterns nonetheless, may be contributing to the racial and cultural discord among the people of this country. It is imperative that, before

terminating existing busing programs and other efforts designed to overcome these patterns, school policy makers consider the findings in this study and act in the best interest of all students as well as the future of our society as a whole.

In looking at past research that has been conducted in the area of desegregation and its effects on students, a large portion of studies have focused, specifically, on student achievement (Anderson, 1966; Burton and Jones, 1982; Crain, 1971; Crain, Mahard, & Narot, 1982; Fortenberry, 1959; Samuels, 1958; Simpson & Yinger, 1985; St. John, 1975; St. John & Lewis, 1971). These studies suggest that minority students' test scores rise after desegregation (i.e. Crain, 1971; Fortenberry, 1959; Crain, Mahard, & Narot, 1982; St. John, 1975). The results of these studies also suggest that the test scores of white students remain the same (i.e. St. John, 1975) or may decrease slightly (i.e. St. John & Lewis, 1971) after desegregation.

It is the opinion of the researcher that the public schools have a responsibility to educate students both academically and socially. School districts place a high priority on student achievement and test scores. In order to successfully educate a diverse nation of learners, the issue of race relations should be considered on par with the priority of achievement.

Writing for the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Earl Warren noted:

> "Today education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments . . . It is the very foundation of good citizenship . . . (I)t is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment" (Brown v. Board of Education, 1954).

His comments were addressing the needs and future of all children, white and minority. In relation to the educational and socialization process of children, he also ruled that the segregation of white and black children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon black children. He maintained that the sense of inferiority that a minority child might experience affects the motivation of that child to learn.

Summary Statement 3:

There exists a significant need for individuals to examine the purposes of public school education in relation to issues of social justice.

Issues of race are contentious and not easily resolved. Questions about the purposes of public schooling need to be debated so that policy makers, practitioners and others may decide about the role that schools might play in resolving racial unrest. Some suggest that public schools are not an appropriate forum for the exchange of ideas concerning racial issues. Others argue that public schools offer the best opportunity for learning about differences and for encouraging individuals from different racial and ethnic backgrounds to understand and appreciate each other.

It is implied by the nature of this study that public schools are the appropriate forum for discussions of race. Further, it is implied here that policy makers and educational practitioners share a responsibility for insuring racial equality and social justice.

In attempting to identify the role of public school in regard to social justice, the purpose of education must be identified. Schools do more than teach academic skills, they also socialize America's youth for membership in an integrated adult society.

In relation to this study, how can desegregation help to bring about social justice? The real test of desegregation is 1) whether desegregation helps in providing minorities with an equal opportunity for a quality education and 2) whether the desegregation process promotes understanding and acceptance of different racial groups. Studies on the long-term effects of racial integration report that the desegregation of schools leads to desegregation in later life – in college, in social situations, in housing patterns, and on the job (Crain, 1984; Crain and Weisman, 1972; Jomills, 1980). What is the role of the public school in fostering this integration outside of the schoolhouse doors? It is the belief of the researcher that school policy makers do all in their power, not only to challenge students academically, but to prepare them for life in an ever-growing integrated society.

Recommendations for Future Research

When beginning this study, the researcher wanted to understand if, and to what extent, the type of schooling might influence racial attitudes of white students toward African Americans. There is much more research to be done in this field, and educators and others can be both optimistic and pessimistic about what lies ahead for the future of this country as it relates to racial relations. The following recommendations are made relating to the utilization of this study for further research.

1. While the results of this study reported on the effects of an integrated or de facto segregated education on the racial attitudes of white students toward African Americans, no data was collected in attempts to discover the attitudes of African Americans toward Whites or an alternate cultural group. Analyzing the racial attitudes of African American students toward Whites would help to better

understand society and make decisions regarding the future characteristics of education in this country.

2. In future research, consideration should be made to get approval to survey and analyze the data collected from students currently enrolled in public high schools. The original intent of the research, in measuring attitudes of high school students, changed drastically when the data collection moved from the high school to the university. The fact that 12 school districts would not agree to participate is significant in itself in relation to the critical need to study racial relations. The limiting effects that using college students as opposed to high school students are extensive. Students who attend college represent less than 30% of the population of high school students.
3. Due to the nature of classrooms often being segregated in an otherwise integrated school, narrowing the present study to include only white high school students, both from integrated and de facto segregated schools, enrolled in an accelerated track would narrow variables of students and would allow for a more detailed analysis.
4. It is recommended that a research study be undertaken to measure racial attitudes at various grade levels, perhaps conducting a longitudinal study that would observe any change in racial attitude of both integrated and de facto segregated students.
5. Investigating racial attitudes of students attending schools that are de facto *integrated* would provide information regarding racial climate within integrated communities and the extent to which these schools influence attitudes.

Conclusion

Karl Taeuber (1990) defines integration as a process that began with good intentions, but that has been generally sidelined by compromises and an imperfect vision. He finds it amazing that it has lasted this long and that so many children have actually experienced an integrated education.

During the times of initial mandated segregation, the media sensationalized the negative aspects of what desegregation was doing to its students and the communities in which they lived. Forty years later, there is an essential need for this nation to look to the research for answers regarding integration issues.

Educators are consistently reminded of the rapidly increasing racial and ethnic diversity of the nation's population. It is difficult to gain an acceptance and understanding of a culture of which you know little. Due to current housing patterns, segregation may inadvertently occur all over the U.S. And while we cannot control where people choose to live, we can provide the opportunity for their children to be educated in a racially integrated setting where cultural acceptance and racial harmony may flourish.

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APPENDIX A

ORIGINAL MULTIFACTOR RACIAL ATTITUDE INVENTORY

Woodmansee & Cook (1967)

1. The fact that an interracial married couple would be socially outcast, and rejected by both Negroes and whites, indicates that such marriages should be avoided.

2. The Negro should be accorded equal rights through integration.

3. I would have no worries about going to a party with an attractive Negro date.

4. I would accept an invitation to a New Year's Eve Party given by a Negro couple in their own home.

5. I approve of the Black Power approach to improving conditions for Negroes.

6. There is nothing to the idea that the Negro's troubles in the past have built in him a stronger character than the White man has.

7. I think it is right that the colored race should occupy a somewhat lower position socially than the white race.

8. A hotel owner ought to have the right to decide for himself whether he is going to rent rooms to Negro guests.

9. The Negro and the white man are inherently equal.

10. When Negro demonstrators block city streets the crowd should be broken up and arrested.

11. There should be a strictly enforced law requiring restaurant owners to serve persons regardless of race, creed or color.

12. Enforcement of laws guaranteeing the right to vote will do more for the Negro than will voter education programs.

13. Negroes sometimes imagine they have been discriminated against on the basis of color even when they have been treated quite fairly.

14. If I were a teacher, I would not mind at all taking advice from a Negro principal.

15. Violence by Negroes is a justifiable reaction to prejudice and discrimination by whites.

16. In a local community or campus charity drive, I would rather not be represented by a Negro chairman even if he or she were qualified for the job.

17. Society has a moral right to insist that a community desegregate even if it doesn't want to.

18. Gradual desegregation s a mistake because it just gives people a chance to cause further delay.

19. School officials should not try placing Negro and white children in the same schools because of the danger of fights and other problems.

20. I probably would feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a Negro in a public place.

21. The people of each state should be allowed to decide for or against integration in state matters.

22. It is better to work gradually toward integration than to try to bring it about all at once.

23. I think that Negroes have a kind of quiet courage which few white people have.

24. I would not take a Negro person to eat with me in a restaurant where I was well known.

25. Some Negroes are so touchy about getting their rights that it is difficult to get along with them.

26. A person should not have the right to run a business in this country if he will not serve Negroes.

27. I would rather not have Negroes swim in the same pool as I do.

28. As long as Negroes work peacefully for what they want I will support them, but I will oppose them when they make demands.

29. Civil rights workers should be supported in their efforts to force acceptance of desegregation.

30. Those who advise patience and "slow down" in desegregation are wrong.

31. I favor gradual rather than sudden changes in the social relations between Negroes and whites.

32. I can easily imagine myself falling in love with and marrying a Negro.

33. Suffering and trouble have made Negroes better able to withstand the stresses and strains of modern life than most whites.

34. I believe that the Negro is entitled to the same social privileges as the white man.

35. I am willing to have Negroes as close personal friends.

36. There is no basis in fact for the idea that Negroes withstand misfortune more courageously than do most whites.

37. We should not integrate schools until the Negro raises his standards of living.

38. Many Negroes should receive better education than they are now getting, but the emphasis should be on training them for jobs rather than preparing them for college.

39. Barbers and beauticians have the right to refuse service to anyone they please, even if it means refusing Negroes.

40. Although social equality of the races may be the democratic way, a good many Negroes are not yet ready to practice the self-control that goes with it.

41. If I were being interviewed for a job, I would not mind at all being evaluated by a Negro personnel director.

42. It would be a mistake ever to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.

43. Many Negroes spend money for big cars and television sets instead of spending it for better housing.

44. I would feel somewhat uneasy talking about intermarriage with Negroes whom I do not know well.

45. Integration will result in greater understanding between Negroes and whites.

46. Since we live in a democracy, if we don't want integration it should not be forced upon us.

47. I would not mind at all of my only friends were Negroes.

48. Interracial marriages are quite unlikely to survive serious problems which are overlooked in the excitement of initial infatuation.

49. There should be a law requiring persons who take roomers in their homes to rent to anyone regardless of race, creed, or color.

50. In fields where they have been given an opportunity to advance, Negroes have shown that they are good sports and gentlemen.

51. I would willingly go to a competent Negro dentist.

52. It is not right to ask Americans to accept integration if they honestly don't believe in it.

53. I feel that moderation will do more for desegregation than the efforts of civil rights workers to force it immediately on people.

54. Negroes should be given every opportunity to get ahead, but they could never be capable of holding top leadership positions in this country.

55. Preschool corrective programs which encourage underprivileged children to actively seek knowledge will do more for the Negro than will legislation guaranteeing him access to jobs.

56. If a Negro is qualified for an executive job, he should get it, even if it means that he will be supervising highly educated white persons.

57. If I were eating lunch in a restaurant alone with a Negro, I would be less self-conscious if the Negro were of the same sex as I rather than the opposite sex.

58. In order to preserve the best of the culture and heritage of both the white and Negro groups, the two races should <u>not</u> intermarry.

59. Even if there were complete equality of opportunity tomorrow, it would still take a long time for Negroes to show themselves equal to whites in some areas of life.

60. Negroes should not associate with black militants who talk tough since this will only make it harder for them to make real progress.

61. Integration of the schools will be beneficial to both white and Negro children alike.

62. There is no reason to believe that what Negroes have suffered in the past has made them a more noble people than are Whites.

63. I would rather not have Negroes as dinner guests with most of my white friends.

64. I think that Negroes have a sense of dignity that you see in few white people.

65. What children of interracial marriages learn about both white and Negro viewpoints will help to improve relations between the races.

66. If I were a businessman, I would resent it if I were told that I had to serve African American.

67. The unusually strong love and trust that lead to interracial marriages will make them very rewarding.

68. Local communities should have no right to delay the desegregation of their community facilities.

69. Black Power leaders should be arrested and given stiff sentences for inciting Negroes to riot.

70. In the long run desegregation would go more smoothly if we put it into effect immediately.

71. Integration should not be attempted because of the turmoil it causes.

72. Even if Negroes are given the opportunity for college education it will be several generations before they are ready to take advantage of it.

72. Legislation to support an influx of better teachers into slum areas helps the Negro more than legislation providing equal employment opportunities for people in those same areas.

74. The fact that Negroes are human beings can be recognized without raising them to the social level of whites.

75. There is nothing to the idea that Negroes have more sympathy for other minorities than most whites do.

76. I have no objection to attending the movies or a play in the company of a Negro couple.

77. The inability of Negroes to develop outstanding leaders restricts them to a low place in society.

78. Integration is more trouble than it is worth.

79. It doesn't work to force desegregation of a community before it is ready for it.

80. The federal government should take decisive steps to override the injustice which Negroes suffer at the hands of local authorities.

81. If desegregation is pushed too fact the Negro's cause will be hurt rather than helped.

82. Hard work and patience will do more for the cause of Negro equality than will demonstration and picketing.

83. Real estate agents should be required to show homes to Negro black buyers regardless of the desires of home owners.

84. If I were a landlord, I would want to pick my own tenants even if this meant renting only to whites.

85. Even though Negroes may have some cause for complaint, they would get what they want faster if they were a bit more patient about it.

86. I feel in sympathy with responsible Negroes who are fighting for desegregation.

87. Most Negroes really think and feel the same way most whites do.

88. In this day of rush and hurry, the Negro has met the problems of society in a much calmer manner than the white man.

89. Before I sponsored a Negro for membership in an all-white club, I would think a lot about how this would make the other members feel toward me.

90. If I were invited to be a guest of a mixed Negro and white group on a weekend pleasure trip, I would probably not go.

91. If the Negroes were of the same social class level as I am, I'd just as soon move into a colored neighborhood as a White one.

92. I would rather not serve on the staff of a Negro congressman.

93. Negro leaders who talk Black Power should get no help from whites.

94. Neither the color of a person's skin nor the shape of this facial features are of any importance, and they should not even be considered in choosing a marriage partner.

95. The problem of racial prejudice has been greatly exaggerated by a few Negro agitators.

96. If he were qualified I would be willing to vote for a Negro for Congress from my district.

97. Many favor a more moderate policy, but I believe that Negroes should be encouraged to picket and sit-in at places where they are not treated fairly.

98. When I look at the way Negroes have been treated, I can begin to sympathize with the riots.

99. Desegregation laws often violate the rights of the individual who does not want to associate with Negroes.

100. There is no basis in fact for the idea that the Negro's misfortunes have made him a more understanding person than the average white.

101. Since segregation has been declared illegal, we should integrate schools.

102. I'd be quite willing to consult a Negro lawyer.

103. Educating the Negro to hold supervisory positions will benefit him more than legislating his right to such positions.

104. I would rather not have Negroes live in the same apartment building as I live in.

105. I would be willing to introduce Negro visitors to friends and neighbors in my home town.

106. The Negro's own experience with unfair treatment has given him a sensitivity and understanding that will make him an excellent supervisor of white people.

107. Negro leaders who press for integration will help the Negro to achieve social equality sooner than those leaders who encourage Negroes to develop characteristics which white man admire.

108. The bad feelings which are likely to arise between an interracial couple and their parents make such a marriage unwise.

109. Civil rights legislation has contributed more to the Negro's progress than have programs to improve his education.

110. The best way to integrate the schools is to do it all at once.

111. People who don't have to live with problems of race relations have not right to dictate to those who do.

112. If I were working on a community or campus problem with somebody, I would rather it not be a Negro.

113. When I see a Negro person and a white person together as a couple, I'm inclined to be more curious about their relationship than if they were both Negro or both white.

114. Unless we have laws guaranteeing Negroes the opportunity to hold supervisory positions in business, programs directed toward increasing the motivation of Negro workers will be of little value.

115. It is a good idea to have separate schools for Negroes and Whites.

116. I admire Negroes who march through white neighborhoods demanding desegregation.

117. Negroes will improve themselves faster by learning a trade rather than by taking jobs the government forces employers to be there.

118. Race discrimination is not just a local community's problem but one which often demands action from those outside the community.

119. I have as much respect for some Negroes as I do for some white persons, but the average Negro and I share little in common.

120. It makes no difference to me whether I'm Negro or White.

121. Regardless of his own views, an employer should be required to hire workers without regard to race.

122. Interracial marriage should be discouraged so as to avoid the "who-am-I' confusion which the children feel.

123. The disapproval and dislike of others is of no importance if an interracial marriage is based on mutual love and respect.

124. Unless legislation assures the Negro equal employment and housing opportunities, better education will mean little.

125. Although social mixing of the races may be right in principle, it is impractical until Negroes learn to accept more "don'ts" in the relations between teenage boys and girls.

126. When Negroes boycott a store that doesn't employ them, whites should join in the boycott.

127. I could trust a Negro person as easily as I could trust a white person if I know him well enough.

128. School integration should begin with the first few grades rather than all grades at once.

129. If I were a Negro, I would not want to gain entry into places where I was not really wanted.

130. Nothing should keep you from marrying someone you love, even though he may be of a different race.

APPENDIX B

MODIFIED MULTIFACTOR RACIAL ATTITUDE INVENTORY

Part One of the Questionnaire Used in Study

Part 1

1. I would have no worries about going to a party with an attractive African American date.

2. I would accept an invitation to a New Year's Eve Party given by an African American couple in their home.

3. There is nothing to the idea that the African American's troubles in the past have built in him a stronger character than the White man has.

4. I think it is right that the African American race should occupy a somewhat lower position socially than the White race.

5. A hotel owner ought to have the right to decide for himself whether he is going to rent rooms to African American guests.

6. The African American man and the White man are inherently equal.

7. There should be a strictly enforced law requiring restaurant owners to serve persons regardless of race, creed, or color.

8. African Americans sometimes imagine they have been discriminated against on the basis of color even when they have been treated quite fairly.

9. If I were a teacher, I would not mind at all taking advice from an African American principal.

10. In a local community or campus charity drive I would rather not be represented by an African American chairman even if he or she were qualified for the job.

11. I probably would feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with an African American in a public place.

12. I think that African Americans have a kind of quiet courage which few White people have.

13. I would not take an African American to eat with me in a restaurant where I was well known.

14. Some African Americans are so touchy about getting their rights that it is difficult to get along with them.

15. A person should not have the right to run a business in this country if he will not serve African Americans.

16. I would rather not have African Americans swim in the same pool as I do.

17. I can easily imagine myself falling in love with and marrying an African American.

18. Suffering and trouble have made African Americans better able to withstand the stresses and strains of modern life than most Whites.

19. I believe that the African American man is entitled to the same social privileges as the White man.

20. I am willing to have African Americans as close personal friends.

21. There is no basis in fact for the idea that African Americans withstand misfortune more courageously than do most Whites.

22. Many African Americans should receive better education than they are now getting, but the emphasis should be on training them for jobs rather than preparing them for college.

23. Barbers and beauticians have the right to refuse service to anyone they please, even if it means refusing African Americans.

24. Although social equality of the races may be the democratic way, a good many African Americans are not yet ready to practice the self-control that goes with it.

25. If I were being interviewed for a job, I would not mind at all being evaluated by an African American personnel director.

26. It would be a mistake ever to have African Americans for foremen and leaders over Whites.

27. Many African Americans spend money for big cars and television sets instead of spending it for better housing.

28. I would feel somewhat uneasy talking about intermarriage with African Americans whom I do not know well.

29. I would not mind at all of my only friends were African American.

30. There should be a law requiring persons who take roomers in their homes to rent to anyone regardless of race, creed, or color.

31. In fields where they have been given an opportunity to advance, African Americans have shown that they are good sports and gentlemen.

32. I would willingly go to a competent African American dentist.

33. African Americans should be given every opportunity to get ahead, but they could never be capable of holding top leadership positions in this country.

34. If an African American person is qualified for an executive job, he should get it, even if it means that he will be supervising highly educated white persons.

35. If I were eating lunch in a restaurant alone with an African American, I would be less self-conscious if he/she were of the same sex as I rather than the opposite sex.

36. Even if there were complete equality of opportunity tomorrow, it would still take a long time for African Americans to show themselves equal to Whites in some areas of life.

37. There is no reason to believe that what African Americans have suffered in the past has made them a more noble people than are Whites.

38. I would rather not have African Americans as dinner guests with most of my White friends.

39. I think that African Americans have a sense of dignity that you see in few White people.

40. If I were a businessman, I would resent it if I were told that I had to serve African Americans.

41. Even if African Americans are given the opportunity for college education it will be several generations before they are ready to take advantage of it.

42. The fact that African Americans are human beings can be recognized without raising them to the social level of whites.

43. There is nothing to the idea that African Americans have more sympathy for other minorities than most Whites do.

44. I have no objection to attending the movies or a play in the company of an African American couple.

45. The inability of African Americans to develop outstanding leaders restricts them to a low place in society.

46. Real estate agents should be required to show homes to African American buyers regardless of the desires of home owners.

47. If I were a landlord, I would want to pick my own tenants even if this meant renting only to Whites.

48. Even though African Americans may have some cause for complaint, they would get what they want faster if they were a bit more patient about it.

49. Most African Americans really think and feel the same way most Whites do.

50. In this day of rush and hurry, the African American has met the problems of society in a much calmer manner than the White man.

51. Before I sponsored an African American for membership in an all-White club, I would think a lot about how this would make the other members feel toward me.

52. If I were invited to be a guest of a mixed African American and White group on a weekend trip, I would probably not go.

53. If the African Americans were of the same social class level as I am, I'd just as soon move into an African American neighborhood as a White one.

54. I would rather not serve on the staff of an African American congressman.

55. The problem of racial prejudice has been greatly exaggerated by a few African American agitators.

56. If he were qualified I would be willing to vote for an African American person for Congress from my district.

57. Desegregation laws often violate the rights of the individual who does not want to associate with African Americans.

58. There is no basis in fact for the idea that the African American's misfortunes have made him a more understanding person than the average White.

59. I'd be quite willing to consult an African American lawyer.

60. I would rather not have African Americans live in the same apartment building as I live in.

61. I would be willing to introduce African American visitors to friends and neighbors in my home town.

62. The African American's own experience with unfair treatment has given him a sensitivity and understanding that will make him an excellent supervisor of White people.

63. If I were working on a community or campus problem with somebody, I would rather it not be an African American person.

64. When I see an African American person and a White person together as a couple, I'm inclined to be more curious about their relationship than if they were both African American or both White.

65. I have as much respect for some African Americans as I do for some White persons, but the average African American person and I share little in common.

66. It makes no difference to me whether I'm African American or White.

67. Regardless of his own views, an employer should be required to hire workers without regard to race.

68. Although social mixing of the races may be right in principle, it is impractical until African Americans learn to accept more "don'ts" in the relations between teenage boys and girls.

69. I could trust an African American person as easily as I could trust a White person if I know him well enough.

70. If I were an African American person, I would not want to gain entry into places where I was not really wanted.

APPENDIX C

MEMORANDUM SENT TO ENGLISH COMPOSITION INSTRUCTORS

MEMORANDUM

TO: Freshman English Composition Instructors
FR: Amy Strefling
DT: August 17, 1998
RE: Student Participation in Survey

I am a doctoral student in the department of Educational Leadership and Policy studies. I am hoping to administer a survey to first semester freshmen during the next month. In this study, I am attempting to measure racial attitudes of students. The survey would take approximately 30 minutes to complete. If you think that you might be willing to allow me to survey one of your classes, please contact me (423-0806) as soon as possible so that I might make arrangements to meet with you.

APPENDIX D

COVER LETTER

COVER LETTER

Attitudes About Groups

The following is a general description of the study and a reminder of your rights as a potential participant. It is important to keep in mind that this is a psychological research study. As in any study, your participation is strictly voluntary. If at any point during the study you should decide that you no longer wish to participate, let an experimenter know, and you will be dismissed. Choosing not to participate in the study will in no way affect your grades.

As a participant in this study, you will be given a survey to complete which asks for your opinions pertaining to racial attitudes in this country. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions; we are only interested in your opinions. The questionnaire is anonymous. The results of the study may be published but your name will not be known. You may look over the survey before deciding whether to participate and may choose to leave the study at any point in time. The survey will take about 20 minutes to complete.

For further information:

I am a graduate student under the direction of Professor Robert Peña in the College of Education at Arizona State University. We will be happy to address any of your questions or concerns regarding this study. If you have questions, please call me or Dr. Peña at (602) 965-5371.

In order to secure your anonymity, return of the questionnaire will be considered your consent to participate.

Sincerely,

Amy Strefling
Graduate Student
Arizona State University

APPENDIX E

ELIGIBILITY FORM

"Attitudes About Groups" Eligibility Form

General Instructions

The goal of this study is to investigate the nature of racial attitudes held by students in this country. Your responses are completely confidential -- your name will never be associated with the information you provide. If at any time you feel that you do not want to continue, please let the experimenter know and you will be dismissed. Please respond to the following two questions before reading the further instructions.

Age Categorization

All participants in this study must be at least 18 years of age.

Are you at least 18 years of age?

_____ Yes
_____ No

If you selected "No" above, please return this form to the experimenter and you will be dismissed.

If you selected "Yes" above, please continue.

Race Self-Categorization

Please indicate the racial category that best describes you:

_____ American Indian or Alaska Native
_____ Asian or Pacific Islander
_____ African-American (Black), not of Hispanic origin
_____ Hispanic
_____ White, not of Hispanic origin
_____ Other (please specify on the line below)

_____

Please return this form to the experimenter so that he/she can verify you as an eligible participant. You will be given a survey at this time.

APPENDIX F

VERBAL SCRIPT

VERBAL SCRIPT

Hello. My name is Amy Strefling and I am a doctoral student in the Educational Leadership and Policy Studies program here at ASU. I'm here today to ask you to participate in a research project that I am conducting. Your participation in this project would involve filling out a short survey pertaining to racial attitudes in this country.

Benefits of participation in this study include adding to the research in the area of racial attitudes. I am not aware of any risks associated with participating. However, if you choose not to take part, please remain seated quietly until all other class members have finished.

Each of you should have two papers. The first one (hold up COVER LETTER) is a general description of the study, including some of what I have already said, and a number where I can be contacted in you have further questions after today. This is yours to keep and you can read this at your leisure.

The second one (hold up ELIGIBILITY FORM) is an eligibility form. If you wish to participate, please fill out this form and bring it to me. I will then check to see that you are eligible to participate and hand you a survey.

Please do not write your name on anything. And, in order to secure your anonymity in this study, return of the questionnaire will be considered your consent to participate.

Are there any questions before we begin?

You may fill out the Eligibility Form now. When you have completed it, bring it to me. Thanks.

APPENDIX G

QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED TO NON-WHITE PARTICIPANTS

1. I would have no worries about going to a party with an attractive White date.

2. I would accept an invitation to a New Year's Eve Party given by a White couple in their home.

3. A hotel owner ought to have the right to decide for himself whether he is going to rent rooms to White guests.

4. All men are inherently equal.

5. There should be a strictly enforced law requiring restaurant owners to serve persons regardless of race, creed, or color.

6. Whites sometimes imagine they have been discriminated against on the basis of color even when they have been treated quite fairly.

7. If I were a teacher, I would not mind at all taking advice from a White principal.

8. In a local community or campus charity drive I would rather not be represented by a White chairman even if he or she were qualified for the job.

9. I probably would feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a White person in a public place.

10. I would not take a White person to eat with me in a restaurant where I was well known.

11. A person should not have the right to run a business in this country if he will not serve White persons.

12. I would rather not have White persons swim in the same pool as I do.

13. I can easily imagine myself falling in love with and marrying a White person.

14. I am willing to have Whites as close personal friends.

15. Barbers and beauticians have the right to refuse service to anyone they please, even if it means refusing Whites.

16. If I were being interviewed for a job, I would not mind at all being evaluated by a White personnel director.

17. It would be a mistake ever to have Whites for foremen and leaders over Minorities.

18. I would feel somewhat uneasy talking about intermarriage with Whites whom I do not know well.

19. I would not mind at all if my only friends were White.

20. There should be a law requiring persons who take roomers in their homes to rent to anyone regardless of race, creed, or color.

21. I would willingly go to a competent White dentist.

22. If a White person is qualified for an executive job, he should get it, even if it means that he will be supervising highly educated Minority persons.

23. If I were eating lunch in a restaurant alone with a White person, I would be less self-conscious if he/she were of the same sex as I rather than the opposite sex.

24. I would rather not have Whites as dinner guests with most of my Minority friends.

25. If I were a businessman, I would resent it if I were told that I had to serve Whites.

26. I have no objection to attending the movies or a play in the company of a White couple.

27. Real estate agents should be required to show homes to White buyers regardless of the desires of home owners.

28. If I were a landlord, I would want to pick my own tenants even if this meant renting only to Minorities.

29. Most Whites really think and feel the same way most Minorities do.

30. Before I sponsored a White for membership in an all-Minority club, I would think a lot about how this would make the other members feel toward me.

31. If I were invited to be a guest of a mixed White and Minority group on a weekend trip, I would probably not go.

32. If the Whites were of the same social class level as I am, I'd just as soon move into White neighborhood as a Minority one.

33. I would rather not serve on the staff of a White congressman.

34. The problem of racial prejudice has been greatly exaggerated by a few White agitators.

35. If he were qualified I would be willing to vote for a White person for Congress from my district.

36. Desegregation laws often violate the rights of the individual who does not want to associate with Whites.

37. I'd be quite willing to consult a White lawyer.

38. I would rather not have Whites live in the same apartment building as I live in.

39. I would be willing to introduce White visitors to friends and neighbors in my home town.

40. If I were working on a community or campus problem with somebody, I would rather it not be a White person.

41. When I see an White person and a Minority person together as a couple, I'm inclined to be more curious about their relationship than if they were both the same race.

42. I have as much respect for some Whites as I do for some Minority persons, but the average Minority person and I share little in common.

43. It makes no difference to me whether I'm White or Minority.

44. Regardless of his own views, an employer should be required to hire workers without regard to race.

45. I could trust a White person as easily as I could trust a Minority person if I know him well enough.

APPENDIX H

ANSWER SHEET

ANSWER SHEET

Check "A" for AGREE. Check "D" for DISAGREE.
Sample:

	A	D
1.	( )	( )

	A	D
1.	( )	( )
2.	( )	( )
3.	( )	( )
4.	( )	( )
5.	( )	( )
6.	( )	( )
7.	( )	( )
8.	( )	( )
9.	( )	( )
10.	( )	( )
11.	( )	( )
12.	( )	( )
13.	( )	( )
14.	( )	( )
15.	( )	( )
16.	( )	( )
17.	( )	( )
18.	( )	( )
19.	( )	( )
20.	( )	( )
21.	( )	( )
22.	( )	( )
23.	( )	( )
24.	( )	( )
25.	( )	( )
26.	( )	( )
27.	( )	( )
28.	( )	( )
29.	( )	( )
30.	( )	( )
31.	( )	( )
32.	( )	( )
33.	( )	( )
34.	( )	( )
35.	( )	( )

	A	D
36.	( )	( )
37.	( )	( )
38.	( )	( )
39.	( )	( )
40.	( )	( )
41.	( )	( )
42.	( )	( )
43.	( )	( )
44.	( )	( )
45.	( )	( )
46.	( )	( )
47.	( )	( )
48.	( )	( )
49.	( )	( )
50.	( )	( )
51.	( )	( )
52.	( )	( )
53.	( )	( )
54.	( )	( )
55.	( )	( )
56.	( )	( )
57.	( )	( )
58.	( )	( )
59.	( )	( )
60.	( )	( )
61.	( )	( )
62.	( )	( )
63.	( )	( )
64.	( )	( )
65.	( )	( )
66.	( )	( )
67.	( )	( )
68.	( )	( )
69.	( )	( )
70.	( )	( )

APPENDIX I

DIRECTIONS FROM THE COVER PAGE OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE BOOKLETS

"Attitudes About Groups" Survey

Here are some questions we are asking students in different parts of the United States. Please give your own opinions.

DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ON THIS BOOKLET.

Part 1

This booklet contains numbered statements. Read each statement carefully. If you agree with it more than you disagree, check under "A" (agree) on the **ANSWER SHEET**. If you disagree with it more than you agree, check under "D" (disagree).

Do not leave any blanks. Please answer every statement. Be sure that the number of the statement agrees with the number on your answer sheet.

Part 2

The second part of the **ANSWER SHEET** contains questions which will be helpful for us in interpreting the results of the study. Please answer each question if you are willing.

WHEN YOU HAVE COMPLETED THE SURVEY AND ANSWERED THE QUESTIONS, RETURN THE FOLLOWING ITEMS TO THE EXPERIMENTER.

1. Eligibility Form
2. This Booklet
3. Answer Sheet

NOW TURN THE PAGE AND BEGIN. WORK FAST.

APPENDIX J

PART TWO OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE USED FOR THE STUDY

The following information would be helpful to us. Please answer each question if you are willing.

Circle the most appropriate answer.

1. Are you male or female?
   Male
   Female

2. How old are you at present?
   18-20 31-40
   21-23 41-50
   24-30 51+

3. What is your current G.P.A.?
(Incoming freshman, use high school G.P.A.)
   3.5 - 4.0 2.0 - 2.4
   3.0 - 3.4 less than 2.0
   2.5 - 2.9

4. How many Multi-Cultural Education courses have you taken?
   None
   1-2
   3-4
   5 or more

5. While growing up, who were the adults living in your home?
   Mother and Father
   Mother only
   Father only
   Grandmother only
   Other (please specify) _____

6. Please indicate the racial category that best describes you.
   American Indian or Alaska Native
   Asian or Pacific Islander
   African-American (Black), not of Hispanic origin
   Hispanic
   White, not of Hispanic origin
   Other (please specify on the line below)
   _____

7. What religion are you?
   Catholic
   Protestant
   Jewish
   No religious affiliation
   Other (please specify) _____

8. How often do you attend religious ceremonies /activities **per month**?
   - almost never
   - less than three times
   - 4 or more times
   - I do not attend ceremonies/activities

9. Year of high school graduation: _____

10. What was the approximate size of your high school **graduating** class?
    - Less than 50 students
    - 50-150 students
    - 150-250 students
    - 250-400 students
    - 400+ students

11. Did you attend public or private school?
    - Public
    - Private

12. Estimate your family's total yearly income the year you graduated from high school.
    - over $75,000
    - $50,000 - $74,000
    - $30,000 - $49,000
    - $15,000 - $29,000
    - $10,000 - $14,000
    - less than $10,000

13. What is the highest grade completed by your: (place an "X" in the appropriate column/s)

	Mother	Father	Guardian
less than a high school diploma			
high school diploma or equivalency			
vocational/trade school diploma			
some college			
college degree			
graduate degree			

8. How often do you attend religious ceremonies /activities **per month**?
   - almost never
   - less than three times
   - 4 or more times
   - I do not attend ceremonies/activities

9. Year of high school graduation: _____

10. What was the approximate size of your high school **graduating** class?
    - Less than 50 students
    - 50-150 students
    - 150-250 students
    - 250-400 students
    - 400+ students

11. Did you attend public or private school?
    - Public
    - Private

12. Estimate your family's total yearly income the year you graduated from high school.
    - over $75,000
    - $50,000 - $74,000
    - $30,000 - $49,000
    - $15,000 - $29,000
    - $10,000 - $14,000
    - less than $10,000

13. What is the highest grade completed by your: (place an "X" in the appropriate column/s)

	Mother	Father	Guardian
less than a high school diploma			
high school diploma or equivalency			
vocational/trade school diploma			
some college			
college degree			
graduate degree			

Comments

"People fail to get along

Because they fear each other . . .

They fear each other

Because they don't know each other."

- Martin Luther King, Jr. -